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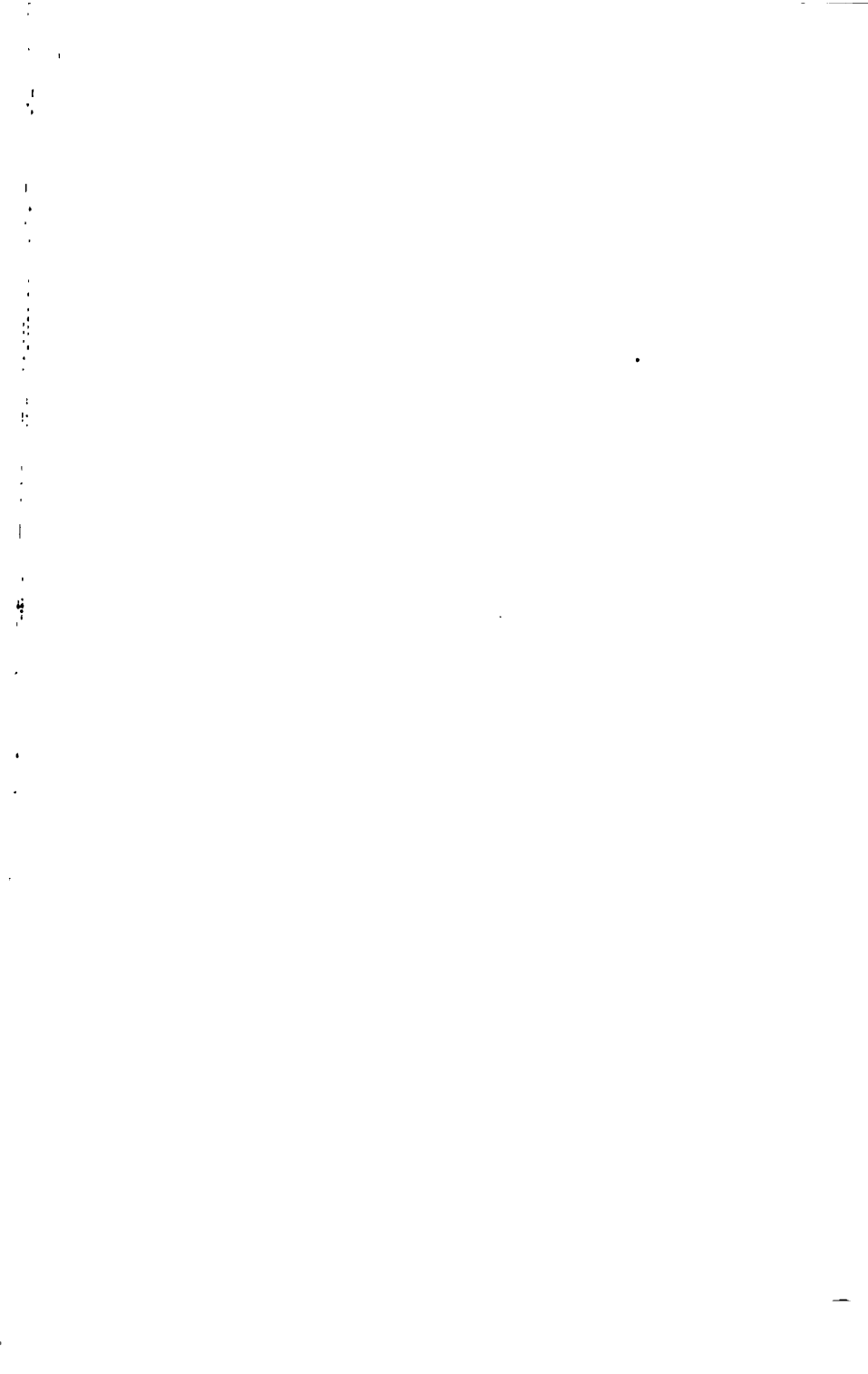


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Historic Society

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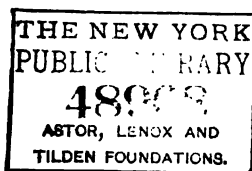
SESSION V.

1852-53.

LIVERPOOL :

PRINTED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COUNCIL,
FOR THE USE OF THE MEMBERS.

MDCCCLIII.



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T. BRAKELL, PRINTER, COOK STREET.

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NOTE RESPECTING THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

Of the twenty-five Illustrations contained in the present Volume, only five plates have been executed wholly at the expense of the Society. All the others are, in whole or in part, donations from individual members.

The plates numbered I, II, III, IV, and IX, containing nine illustrations, have been executed wholly by the Society. Some of them, though illustrating Volume V, belong more properly to Volume IV, but were not ready in time to be bound up with it. The original drawings of the Churches and Chapels were lent, with many others, by Mr. Herdman.

The etching of plates VII and VIII is presented to the Society, by Mr. Pidgeon, of London.

Plates V, VI, X, and XI are lithographs, printed from drawings on stone, all of which were lent by Dr. Kendrick.

No. XII is printed from blocks which were lent by the Council of the Archæological Institute; and No. XIII from one lent by Dr. Kendrick.

All the other blocks,—viz., XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, and XXI,—are the property of Mr. Mayer, by whom they were lent in like manner.

ERRATA.

Page 98, line 33, for Brown, read Browne..

„ 100, „ 9, Do. Do.

„ 184, „ 18, for Tuetonic, read Teutonic.

„ 181, „ 11, for Cheshire men, read English vanguard and right wing.

„ 214, „ Tuetons, read Teutons.

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LIST OF MEMBERS.

SESSION 1852-3.

The First List was dated 23rd November, 1848. All whose names appear or should have been in it, are, therefore, original Members. Those who have been enrolled as Mayors have their year of office attached, and the initial letter of the Borough.

The letters D. E. P. denote respectively that the gentlemen in connection with whose names they occur, have been Donors, Exhibitors, or Authors of Papers during the five Sessions of the Society's existence.

Those marked thus * are Life Members.

- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Ainalie, Montague, Grisedale, Milnthorpe, Westmoreland.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Alexander, William L., 4, Mount Vernon Green, and 2, Harrington Street, Liverpool.
- 10th Feb. 1853. Anderson, Robert Worrall, 28, Falkner Square.
- 3rd May, 1849. Anderson, Thomas Francis, Holly Lodge, Fairfield, and 3, Cable Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Anson, Very Rev. Frederick, D.D., Dean of Chester and Rector of Doddleston, The Deanery, Chester.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Ansdell, Richard, 7, Victoria Road, Kensington, London.
- 14th Dec., 1848. Astley, John, 25, Brunswick Street, Liverpool, and Rock Ferry, Cheshire.
- 4th April, 1850. Aston, Walter, Chadderton Hall, and 7, Norfolk Street, Manchester.
- 8th Nov., 1849. Atkinson, Fenton Robinson, Oak House, Pendleton, Manchester.
- D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. AVISON, THOMAS, F.S.A., Fulwood Park, Aigburth, and 16, Cook Street, Liverpool, TREASURER.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Badnall, Rev. William, M.A., Wavertree.
- 5th May, 1853. Bagot, John Lawler, 27, Great Orford Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Bainbrigge, William H., F.R.C.S., 3, Islington Square, Liverpool.
- D.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. BAINES, THOMAS, Times Office, Castle Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Baylee, Rev. Joseph, D.D., Principal of St. Aidan's College, Birkenhead, Cloughton Road, Woodside.
- P. 6th Dec., 1849. Beamont, William, Warrington.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Bell, Henry, Union Court, Castle Street, Liverpool, and Grosvenor Road, Cloughton, Birkenhead.

- E. 9th Dec., 1852. Benn, Edward, Vauxhall Distillery, Liverpool.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Bennett, Edward, Bedstone House, Bedstone, near Ludlow.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Bennett, William, 69, Shaw Street, Liverpool.
 Mayor Li. 1850-1. Bent, Sir John, 1, Rake Lane, Edge Hill, and 30, Johnson Street, Liverpool
 23rd Nov., 1848. Bickersteth, Robert, F.R.C.S., 2, Rodney Street, Liverpool.
 7th March, 1850. Birch, Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart., The Hazels, Prescot.
- E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Birchall, Thomas, Ribbleton Hall, Preston.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Bird, William, 9, South Castle Street, and The Dell, Rock Park, Rock Ferry.
- 4th March, 1852. Birley, Rev. John Shepherd, Halliwell Hall, Bolton.
- P. 8th Jan., 1852. Birley, T. Langton, Carr Hall, Kirkham.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Blackburne, John Ireland, The Hall, Hale.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Blundell, Thomas Weld, Ince Blundell, Great Crosby.
 5th May, 1853. Booth, Benjamin Witham, Swinton, Manchester.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Boulton, Francis, 6, Rumford Place, Liverpool, and Clifton Park, Birkenhead.
- D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. BOULT, JOSEPH, Harrington Chambers, and Grove Park, Lodge Lane, Liverpool.
 8th Dec., 1851. Bourne, Cornelius, Stalmine Hall, Preston.
 6th April, 1850. *Brackley, the Viscount, M.P., Worsley Hall, Manchester.
- E. 13th Nov., 1851. Brackstone, R. H., 47, Wood Street, London.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Brakell, Thomas, 3, Cook Street, and 40, Kensington, Liverpool.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Bridger, Charles, F.S.A., 3, Keppell Street, Russell Square, London.
 3rd May, 1840. Brooke, Henry, The Grange, Northwich.
- D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Brooke, Richard, F.S.A., 16, Canning Street, and 14, Cook Street, Liverpool.
 6th March, 1851. *Brooke, Richard, jun., Norton Priory, Runcorn.
 12th April, 1849. Brooks, John, 55, Great George Street, Liverpool.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. BROOKS, VENERABLE JONATHAN, M.A., Archdeacon of Liverpool, Everton Road, Liverpool, VICE-PRESIDENT.
 6th Jan. 1853. Brown, Rev. Hugh Stowell, 118, Chatham Street, Liverpool.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Brown, William, M.P., 7, Chapel Street, Liverpool, and Fenton's Hotel, London.
 9th Dec., 1852. Bury, Edward, F.R.S., Sheffield.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Byrne, Andrew Euing, 4, Rumford Place, and 8, Kenyon Terrace, Claughton, Birkenhead.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Caine, Nathaniel, 12, Dutton Street, Liverpool.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Campbell, Rev. Augustus, M.A., The Vicarage, Childwall, and 131, Duke Street, Liverpool.
- 8th Jan. 1852. Campbell, Rev. Colin, M.A., St. Thomas's, Lancaster.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Cardwell, Edward, P.B., M.P., 3, Whitehall Gardens, London.
- 4th April, 1850. *Carlisle, the Earl of, Naworth Hall, Northumberland, and Grosvenor Place, London.

- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Carson, Thomas, Talbot Chambers, Fenwick Street, and 3, Northumberland Terrace, Everton, Liverpool.
- 6th Dec., 1849. Carson, William, York Buildings, Sweeting Street, and Lodge Lane, Liverpool.
- 14th Dec., 1848. Carter, George Barker, Bebington, Cheshire, and 6, Lord Street, Liverpool.
- 1851-52. CHESTER, THE MAYOR OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex officio*.
- 2nd June, 1853. *Chester, the Lord Bishop of, the Palace, Chester.
- E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Clare, John Leigh, Richmond Terrace, Breck Road, and 11, Exchange Buildings, Liverpool.
- 3rd Jan. 1850. Claypole, Henry Krebs, 41, Lord Street, and 67, Kensington, Liverpool.
- D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Clayton, Rev. George, M.A., Warmingham Rectory, Middlewich.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Cliffe, Thomas, 6, Audley Street, Everton, Liverpool.
- 2nd June, 1853. Collingwood, William, 55, Chatham Street, Liverpool.
- D.E. 1st Feb., 1849. Colton, John Caspar, 7, Oldhall Street, and 114, Duke Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Conway, John, 3, Union Court, Castle Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Coulthart, John Ross, Croft House, Ashton-under-Lyne.
- 23rd Nov. 1848. Crook, Thomas, 61, Shaw Street, Liverpool.
- 6th Dec., 1849. Crosfield, Henry, 4, Temple Place, and Edgemount, Edge Lane, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Crosse, Thomas Bright, Shawe Hill, Chorley.
- 2nd May, 1850. Crossley, James, F.S.A., President of the Chetham Society, Booth Street, Manchester.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Cunningham, John, F.G.S., Hon. M. Roy. Corn. G.S., 20, Seel Street, and Beach Bank, Liscard, Cheshire.
- D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. CUST, MAJOR-GEN., the HON. SIR EDWARD, K.C.H., D.C.L., F.R.S., Leasowe Castle, Cheshire, and Hill Street, London, VICE-PRESIDENT.
- D. 8th Dec., 1851. Dale, Rev. P. S., M.A., Hill House, Tranmere.
- E. 8th Dec., 1851. Dale, Robert Norris, Hargreaves' Buildings, Exchange, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Danby, Rev. Francis Burton, M.A., County Asylum, Lancaster.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Darlington, Richard, Wigan.
- P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Dawes, Matthew, F.S.A., F.G.S., Westbrooke, Bolton.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Dawson, Henry, 20, Redcross Street, and 14, St. James's Road, Liverpool.
- 10th Feb., 1853. Dawson, Pudsey, Hornby Castle, Lancashire.
- 2nd May, 1850. Dawson, Thomas, M.R.C.S., 67, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Dearden, James, F.S.A., The Orchard, Rochdale.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Deighton, Joseph, 46, Church Street, Liverpool.
- 6th April, 1850. De Tabley, The Lord, Tabley Hall, Cheshire.
- 7th May, 1851. Dickinson, Joseph, M.A., M.D., F.L.S., M.R.I.A., President of the Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool, 5, Nelson Street, Liverpool.

- 23rd Nov., 1848. Dignan, John, Chronicle Office, Church Street, Liverpool.
- D. 13th Nov., 1851. Donaldson, J. Binning, 12, Gloucester Place, Low Hill, Liverpool.
- 7th March, 1850. Dove, Percy M., Royal Insurance Office, 1, North John Street, Liverpool, and 49, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Duarte, Ricardo Thomaz, 2, Royal Bank Buildings, Liverpool.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Dunlevie, Charles Thomas, 52, Castle Street, Liverpool.
- D. 9th Dec., 1852. Eckersley, Thomas, Wigan.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Eden, John, 57, Church Street, and Aigburth Vale, Liverpool.
- 8th Dec., 1851. Edgar, James, 34, Canning Street, Liverpool.
- D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Egerton, Sir Philip de Malpas Grey, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., F.G.S., Oulton Park, Tarporley, and 43, Wilton Crescent, London.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. *ELLESMERE, THE EARL OF, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., Worsley Hall, Manchester, and 18, Belgrave Square, London, PRESIDENT.
- 14th April, 1853. Ellis, Arthur, Melville Place, Oxford Street, Liverpool.
- 3rd March, 1853. Ellis, William, 29, Edge Lane, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Evans, Edward, 52A., Hanover Street, Liverpool.
- 8th Nov., 1849. Evans, Thomas Bickerton, 52A., Hanover Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Ewart, Joseph Christopher, New Brighton.
- 6th May, 1852. *Ewart, William, M.P., 6, Cambridge Square, Hyde Park, London.
- 3rd Jan., 1850. Eyton, Caradoc, James's Street, Liverpool.
- 7th Feb., 1850. Eyton, Peter Ellis, Flint.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Falcon, William B., Malta, and 11, Shaw Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Feilden, John, Mollington Hall, Chester.
- 8th Jan., 1852. Ffrance, Thomas Robert Wilson,† Rowcliffe Hall, Garstang.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Finlay, William, Collegiate Institution, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Fisher, William M., Ph.D., F.R.A.S., 39, Great George Street, Liverpool.
- 6th Dec., 1849. Fleming, Thomas, 22, Sandon Street, and 58, Castle Street, Liverpool.
- 2nd June, 1853. Foard, James T., 24, Huskisson Street, and 34, Church Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Forshaw, Rev. Charles, M.A., Altcar, Ormskirk.
- 5th Dec., 1850. Forster, Wilson, Willow Bank, Tue Brook, West Derby, and 23, Temple Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Fox, Rev. W. Darwin, M.A., Delamere Forest Rectory.
- 6th Jan., 1853. French, Gilbert James, Bolton-le-Moors.
- 14th Dec., 1848. Gardner, Richard Cardwell, 42, Dale Street, and Newsham House, Liverpool.

† Dead. Subscription for Session V. paid.

- 3rd May, 1849. Garnett, William James, Bleasdale Tower, Garstang.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Gaskell, John, Exchange Court, Exchange Street East, Liverpool.
- D. 7th Feb., 1850. GATH, SAMUEL, 137, Finch Street, and Hargreaves' Buildings, Liverpool.
- E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Gawthrop, Hugh, Mersey Cottage, Mersey Street, Birkenhead
- 7th March, 1850. Gill, Robert, 1, Chapel Street, Liverpool, and Much Woolton.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Godfrey, J. J., M.R.C.S., Heathfield Street, Renshaw Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Gore, William Ormsby, M.P., Porkington, Oswestry, and 66, Portland Place, London.
- 9th Dec., 1852. Graves, Samuel Robert, 13, Redross Street.
- 7th Feb., 1850. Gray, John, 16, St. Clement's Terrace, Windsor, and 25, Strand Street, Liverpool.
- D.E. 14th Dec., 1848. Gray, Thomas, Royal Insurance Office, 1, North John Street, Liverpool.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Gray, William, Bolton.
- 7th Feb., 1850. Green, Robert Molyneux, 14, Rupert Lane, Everton, Liverpool
- D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Greenall, Rev. Richard, M.A., Incumbent of Stretton, and R.D., Stretton, Warrington.
- D.E. 8th Nov., 1849. Guyton, Joseph, 5, Church Street, Edge Hill, Liverpool.
- 2nd May, 1850. Hall, William, Seaforth.
- D. 8th Dec., 1851. Hammond, William John, Swift Court, 50, Stafford Street, and 11, Castle Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Hampton, Rev. H., M.A., Cemetery View, 18, Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Harden, J. W., New Ferry, Cheshire.
- D.E.P. 8th Nov., 1849. Harland, John, Guardian Office, Manchester.
- 5th May, 1853. Harrison, William, Ballachrink, St. John's, Isle of Man.
- 9th Dec., 1852. Harrison, Henry Walter, 5, Rodney Street, and 27, Castle Street, Liverpool
- 10th Feb., 1853. Hartley, Jesse, Derby Road, Bootle.
- 10th Feb., 1853. Hartley, John Bernard, Aigburth.
- 6th Dec., 1849. Haslam, Samuel Holker, F.L.S., Greenside Cottage, Milnthorpe.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Hawkins, Edward, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., British Museum, London.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Hawthorne, Hans Stewart, 61, St. Anne Street, Liverpool.
- 3rd May, 1849. Hay, John, 2, Cable Street, and Parkfield Cottage, Birkenhead, Cheshire.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Heath, Edward, Orange Court, Castle Street, and St. Domingo Grove, Everton, Liverpool.
- 9th Dec. 1852. Henderson, Rev. John, Colne, Lancashire.
- E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Herdman, William Gawin, Lansdowne Place, Everton, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, Sir Benjamin, Bart., Claremont, Manchester.

- 23rd Nov., 1848. Heywood, James, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Acresfield, Manchester, and Reform Club, London.
- D.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, Thomas, F.S.A., Hope End, Ledbury, Herefordshire.
- E.P. 4th Jan., 1849. Hibbert, Thomas Dorning, Middle Temple, London.
- D.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. HIGGIN, EDWARD, 6, Sweeting Street, and Elmleigh, Breckside Park, Liverpool.
- D. 6th Dec., 1849. Higgin, Thomas, 3, Tower Buildings West, Liverpool.
- E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Hill, Rev. John Wilbraham, M.A., Waverton, Chester.
- 8th Dec., 1851. Hinde, John Hodgson, 9, Saville Row, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Acton House, Felton, Northumberland.
- D. Mayor Li, 1849-50. Holmes, John, 11, Everton Brow, Liverpool.
- Mayor La, 1849-50. Howitt, Thomas, M.R.C.S., Lancaster.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Horsfall, Thomas Berry, M.P., Mill Bank, West Derby.
- 14th April, 1853. Houghton, Richard, Crosby.
- D.P. 8th Nov., 1849. HOWSON, REV. JOHN SAUL, M.A., Principal, Collegiate Institution, Liverpool.
- 8th Feb., 1852. Hulton, William Adams, Hurst Grange, Preston.
- Mayor C, 1851-52. Humberston, Philip Stapleton, Chester.
- D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. HUME, REV. ABRAHAM, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., Hon. Mem. Dublin University Philosophical Society, 9, Clarence Street, Everton, HON. SECRETARY.
- 12th April, 1849. Hunt, Charles, 12, Huskisson Street, Liverpool.
- 9th Dec., 1852. Hutchison Robert, 61, Grove Street, Liverpool
- D.E. 1st April, 1852. Jacob, John Greer, 56, Church Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Jason, Charles R., Barton Lodge, Preston.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. James, Rev. David, M.A., F.S.A., Ph.D., Llandoverly.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *James, Paul Moon, Summer Ville, Manchester.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Johnson, John H., 7, Church Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Jones, Alfred, 17, Goree Piazzas, Liverpool.
- 6th April, 1850. Jones, Captain, care of Mr. Jordan, Manchester.
- 3rd May, 1849. Jones, Morris Charles, 75, Shaw Street, Liverpool.
- 6th Dec., 1849. Jones, Roger Lyon, 1, Great George's Square, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Keet, George, J., 90, Renshaw Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Kendall Thomas, 9, Gambier Terrace, Liverpool.
- D.E.P. 3rd May, 1849. KENDRICK, JAMES, M.D., Warrington.
- 6th June, 1850. Kerferd, John A., 23, Everton Village, Liverpool.
- D. 1st Feb., 1849. Kilpin, Thomas Johnson, 1, Arrad Street, Hope Street, Liverpool.
- D.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. LAMB, DAVID, Plumpton Terrace, 29, Everton Road, Liverpool.
- 14th March, 1852. Lambert, David Howe, 1, York Buildings, Dale Street, and Bedford Street, Liverpool.
- 1852-53. LANCASTER, THE MAYOR OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex officio*.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Langton, William, Manchester.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Laycock, William, 1, Canning Street, Birkenhead.

- 8th Dec., 1849. Ledger, Reuben, Knotty Ash, Liverpool.
 D. 1st April, 1852. Lee, Rev. Thomas Falkner, M.A., Grammar School, Lancaster.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Legh, G. Cornwall, M.P., High Legh, Warrington.
 D.E. 4th April, 1850. Lilford, The Lord, Oundle, Northamptonshire, and Grosvenor Place, London.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Lingard, Alexander Rowsand, M.R.C.S., Eastham.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Lindsay, Hon. Colin, Haigh Lands, Wigan.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Lister, James, Union Bank, Brunswick Street, and 2, Green Bank, Breckfield Road North, Liverpool.
- Mayor Li, 1851-52. Littledale, Thomas, Highfield House, and 18, Exchange Buildings, Liverpool.
 1852-53. LIVERPOOL, THE MAYOR OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex officio*.
- D. 14th Dec., 1848. LLOYD, JOHN BUCK, Exchange Alley, Exchange Street West, and Aigburth.
 6th Jan., 1853. Longton, John, Breck Road, and Peter's Place, Rumford Street, Liverpool.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. *LOEB, LIEUT. WILLIAM, R.N., Surveyor of the Port, 16, Sandon Street, Liverpool.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Lowndes, Matthew Dobson, 7, Brunswick Street, Liverpool.
- 5th Dec., 1850. Lucas, Henry Walker, 1, Sweeting Street, Liverpool.
 14th April, 1853. Lyon, Henry, Appleton Hall, Warrington.
 D.E. 6th Dec., 1849. Lyon, Thomas, Appleton Hall, Warrington.
- 3rd March, 1853. MacIntyre, Peter, M.D., 120, Duke Street, Liverpool.
 5th May, 1853. Macrae, John Wrigley, Edge Lane, and 22, Hackins Hey, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Macrorie, David, M.D., M.R.C.S., 126, Duke Street, Liverpool.
 1852-53. MANCHESTER, THE MAYOR OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex officio*.
- 3rd Jan., 1849. *Manchester, The Lord Bishop of, Sedgley Hall, Manchester.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Markland, James Heywood, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Bath.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Marsden, George, 52, Pembroke Place, Liverpool.
 5th June, 1851. Marsh, John Finchett, Fairfield, Warrington.
 D.E. 8th Nov., 1849. Massie, Rev. William H., St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Mather, Daniel, 58, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
 D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. MATHER, JOHN, 58, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, AUDITOR.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Mather, Robert, 58, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
 4th April, 1850. Mawdesley, Joseph, 10, West Derby street, and 49, South John Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Mawdsley, James, 11, Canning Street, and 4, Castle Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Mawdsley, John, Mersey Court, Covent Garden, and Pool Cottage, Seacombe, Cheshire.
 15th March, 1849. Mayer, Jos., Brown Hills, Burslem, Staffordshire.

- D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. **MAYER, JOSEPH, F.S.A., Hon. Mem. SS. Antiq., Normandy, l'Ouest, the Morini; de la Société d'Emulation, Abbeville, &c., 68, Lord Street, Liverpool, Hon. CURATOR.**
- 7th Feb., 1850. **Mayer, Samuel, Newcastle-under-Lyne**
- 23rd Nov., 1848. **Mayer, Thomas, Dale Hall, Longport, Staffordshire**
- 23rd Nov., 1848. **M'Conkey, Rev. Andrew, M.A., Woburn Hill, Green Lane, West Derby**
- D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. **M'QUIL, PETER ROBINSON, Low Hill, and 20, Water Street, Liverpool, AUDITOR**
- D. 6th Dec., 1849. **M'Vicar, Duncan, Abercromby Terrace, and 7, Exchange Buildings, Liverpool**
- D.E.P. 6th Dec., 1849. **MIDDLETON, JAMES, F.S.A., Grecian Terrace, Everton, and 12, Rumford Place, Liverpool**
- Mayor Li, 1848-49. **Moore, John Bramley, Carioca Lodge, Aighurth, and Orange Court, Castle Street, Liverpool**
- E. 23rd Nov., 1848. **MOORE, THOMAS, 18, Chapel Street, and 10, Beaufort Buildings, Seacombe, Cheshire**
- E.P. 8th Nov., 1849. **MOORE, REV. THOMAS, M.A., Norwood Grove, Whitefield Road, Liverpool, Hon. SECRETARY**
- D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. **Mortimer, William Williams, City Walls, Chester**
- E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. **Moss, Rev. John, James, B.A., Otterspool, Aighurth**
- 23rd Nov., 1848. **Mostyn, Rev. G. Thornton, M.A., St. Helens**
- 7th March, 1850. **Mott, Albert J., 20, South Castle Street, and Edge Hill, Liverpool**
- P. 23rd Nov., 1848. **Muspratt, Sheridan, Ph.D., F.R.S.E., M.R.I.A., &c., College of Chemistry, Duke Street, Liverpool**
- D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. **Neil, Hugh, L.R.C.S.E., F.R.A.S., 115, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool**
- 23rd Nov., 1848. **Nicholson, James, F.S.A., Thelwall Hall, Warrington**
- D. 6th Dec., 1849. **North, Alfred, 33, Huskisson Street, Liverpool.**
- 2nd Jan., 1851. **Oates, Capt. W. C., Cavendish Place, Bath**
- D.P. 6th Dec., 1849. **Ormerod, George, D.C.L, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Sedbury Park, Chepstow**
- 6th June, 1850. **Ormerod, George Wareing, M.A., F.G.S., Broughton View, Manchester**
- 6th Feb., 1851. **Osborne, John James, Macclesfield**
- 3rd Jan., 1850. **Overend, James, 45, Hope Street, Liverpool**
- 23rd Nov. 1848. **Paris, Thomas Jeremiah, 68, Lord Street, Liverpool**
- 3rd Jan., 1850. **Parker, Charles Stewart, Bank Chambers, Cook Street, Liverpool**
- 23rd Nov., 1848. **Parr, Alfred, M.D., St. George's Mount, New Brighton, Cheshire**
- 7th March, 1850. ***Patten, John Wilson, M.P., Bank Hall, Warrington**
- 23rd Nov., 1848. **Pedder, Edward, Clifton Hall, Preston**
- E. 23rd Nov., 1848. **Pedder, Richard, Stanley Terrace, Preston**
- 23rd Nov., 1848. **Penny, Rev. Edward, M.A., Rectory, Great Mongeham, Kent**
- 6th Dec., 1849. **Perkes, Samuel, 1, Wallbrook, City, London**
- 8th Dec., 1851. **Perrin, Joseph, 15, Prince's Street, Manchester**
- 23rd Nov., 1848. **Piccope, Rev. J., M.A., Farndon, Chester**

- D. 9th Jan., 1849. **PICOT, JAMES ALLANSON, F.S.A., 19, Clayton Square, Sandy Knowe, Wavertree**
 6th Dec., 1849. **Pierce, George Massie, 4, Exchange Alley, and Linacre Marsh, Liverpool**
 3rd May, 1849. **Pierpoint, Benjamin, Warrington**
 23rd Nov., 1848. **Pilkington, James, M.P., Park Place, Blackburn**
 10th Feb., 1853. **Platt, Robert, Dean Water, Prestbury**
 23rd Nov., 1848. **Poggi, Rev. Dominica Joseph, D.D., Seacombe House School, Cheshire.**
 D. 6th Dec., 1849. **POOLER, JOHN, 23, Oxford Street, Liverpool**
 Mayor M., 1851-2. **Potter, Sir John, Manchester**
 6th Dec., 1849. **Preston, William, 13, Vernon Street, and Rock House, West Derby Road, Liverpool**
 23rd Nov., 1848. **Raikes, Worshipful and Rev. H., M.A.; Hon. Canon and Chancellor of Chester, Dee Side, Chester**
 D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. **Raines, Rev. Canon, M.A., F.S.A., Milnrow Parsonage, Rochdale**
 D. 23rd Nov., 1848. **Reay, James, Guardian Office, Commerce Court, Lord Street, Liverpool**
 D. 23rd Nov., 1848. **Reay, Thomas, 87, Church Street, Liverpool**
 23rd Nov., 1848. **Raffles, Rev. Thomas, D.D., LL.D., Mason Street, Edge Hill, Liverpool**
 D. 15th March, 1849. **Rawlinson, Robert, Gwydyr House, London**
 7th March, 1850. **Richardson, Samuel, 4, Berkeley Street, Liverpool**
 D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. **Rimmer, Alfred, 59, Hope Street, Liverpool**
 23rd Nov., 1848. **Roberts, Rev. E., M.A., Seacombe, Cheshire**
 D.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. **Roberts, William John, Lydiate, and 7, Berry Street, Liverpool**
 D.E. 14th Dec. 1848. **Robin, John, Chapel Walks, South Castle Street, and Grove Hill, West Kirby, Cheshire**
 8th Mch, 1853. **Robinson, John, Westfield, Huddersfield**
 D.E.P. 3rd May, 1849. **ROBSON, JOHN, Warrington**
 D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. **ROBINSON, CHARLES BACKHOUSE, 102, Chatham Street, Liverpool**
 3rd Jan. 1850. **Ronald, Robert Wilson, 1, Everton Brow, Liverpool**
 14th April, 1853. **Ryder, Thomas Bromfield, Cuthbert's Buildings, Clayton Square, Liverpool**
 23rd Nov., 1848. **Sandford, Rev. G. B.,† Church Minshull, Middlewich**
 23rd Nov., 1848. **Scholefield, Henry D., M.D., M.R.C.S., 14, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead**
 E. 23rd Nov., 1848. **SEFTON, THE EARL OF, Croxteth Hall, West Derby, VICE-PRESIDENT**
 8th Jan. 1852. **Sharp, John, Dalton Square, Lancaster**
 2nd June, 1858. **Sharp, William, Westlands, Wimbledon, London**
 23rd Nov., 1848. **Sharpe, Edmund, M.A., Lancaster**
 7th Feb., 1850. **Sherlock, Cornelius, 22, King Street, and Stanley, Liverpool**
 Mayor L., 1851-2. **Sherson, John Herdman, Lancaster**
 3rd May, 1849. **Shute, Robert, 28, Bedford Street North, Liverpool**
 D. 8th Jan. 1852. **Simpson, Rev. Robert, M.A., Skerton, Lancaster**
 D. 23rd Nov., 1848. ***Simpson, Rev. Samuel, Douglas, Isle of Man**

† Dead. Subscription for Session V. paid.

- 23rd Nov., 1848. Skaife, Thomas, Vanbrugh House, Blackheath, London
- 9th Dec., 1852. Smith, George F., 6, Park Lane, Liverpool
- D. 2nd May, 1850. *Smith, James, Brunswick Dock, and Seaforth
- 6th Jan. 1853. Smith, William Penn, 26, Hanover Street, Liverpool
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Snowball, J. G., 16, Castle Street, and 11, Upper Canning Street, Liverpool
- 1st Feb., 1849. Stephens, Alfred, 4, Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Stewart, Rev. John, M.A., Hayman's Green, West Derby
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Stewart, Rev. William, M.A., The Parsonage, Hale
- 6th June, 1850. Stock, John, 7, Exchange Buildings, and Westdale, Wavertree, Liverpool
- D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Stonehouse, James, 9, Christian Street North, Everton, Liverpool
- D.E. 8th Nov., 1849. Stuart, William, 1, Rumford Place, and Springfield House, Knotty Ash, Liverpool
- 5th June, 1851. Stubs, Joseph, Warrington
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Sutton, Hugh Gaskell, Exchange Court, Exchange Street East, and Wood End, Aigburth
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Sweetlove, John, 41, Edward Square, Kensington, London
- 4th March, 1852. Sykes, James, Breck House, Poulton-le-Fylde, and 49, Seymour Street, Liverpool
- 5th Feb., 1852. Thacker, Robert Pearson, Standard Office, and Percy Street, Liverpool.
- D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Thicknesse, Ralph A., M.P., Beech Hill, Wigan.
- D.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. THOM, REV. DAVID, D.D., Ph.D., 3, St. Mary's Place, Edge Hill, Liverpool, VICE-PRESIDENT.
- E.P. 8th Dec., 1851. Thornber, Rev. William, B.A., Blackpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Thornely, James, 16, Hope Street, Liverpool.
- 8th Dec., 1851. Tinné, John A., 13, Bank Chambers, Cook Street, and Briarley, Aigburth.
- E. 14th Dec., 1846. Tobin, Thomas, F.S.A., Ballincollig, Cork.
- 8th Jan., 1852. Torr, John, 13, Exchange Buildings, and Eastham.
- 5th Dec., 1850. Tucker, Robert, 11, North View, Edge Hill, Liverpool.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Tudor, Richard A., M.R.C.S., Church View, Bootle.
- 14th April, 1853. Turner, Charles, Dingle Head, Liverpool.
- D. 6th Dec., 1849. Turner, Edward, High Street, Newcastle, Staffordshire.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Varty, Thomas, 39, Prospect Vale, Fairfield, and Lime Street, Liverpool.
- 14th April, 1853. Vose, James, M.D., 5, Gambier Terrace, Hope Street, Liverpool.
- Mayor C, 1848-49. *Walker, Sir Edward, Chester.
- 6th March, 1851. Warburton, Rowland Eyles Egerton, Arley Hall, Cheshire.
- 1st April, 1852. Warry, Thomas Symes, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead.
- 8th Jan., 1852. Watson, William Pilkington, Rock Park, Rock Ferry.

- 6th June, 1850. Waterhouse, Sebastian, 13, Percy Street, Liverpool.
 D. 2nd May, 1850. *Way, Albert, M.A., F.S.A., Wonham Manor, Reigate, Surrey.
 E. 1st Feb., 1849. Webster, George, Exchange Alley North, and 7, Northumberland Terrace, Everton, Liverpool.
 D.E. 1st Feb., 1849. *WHITEHEAD, JAMES WRIGHT, Orange Court, Castle Street, and 15, Duke Street, Edge Hill, Liverpool.
 6th June, 1850. Whiteley, Rev. William, Catselough, Winsford, Cheshire
 2nd June, 1853. Whitley, George, Bromborough.
 Mayor C, 1850-51. Williams, John, Chester.
 8th Jan., 1852. Willoughby, Edward G., Marine Cottage, Tranmere.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Wilson, Henry, 12, Everton Terrace, and Collegiate Institution, Liverpool.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Winstanley, Samuel T., 68, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
 12th April, 1849. Wolley, George, 20, Mason Street, Edge Hill, Liverpool.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Wood, Venerable Isaac, M.A., Archdeacon of Chester, The Vicarage, Middlewich.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Wood, Isaac Moreton, Middlewich, Cheshire.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Wood, John Nelson, Chapel Walks, South Castle Street, and Oaklands, Rock Ferry, Cheshire.
 10th Feb., 1853. Wood, Thomas, Blue Coat Hospital, Liverpool.
 D.E. 7th May, 1851. *Woodhouse, John George, 47, Henry Street, Liverpool
 12th April, 1849. Wright, William, 25, Exchange Alley North, and 25, Deane Street, Fairfield, Liverpool.
 5th May, 1853. Wylie, Alexander Henry, 6, Catherine Street, Liverpool.

 HONORARY MEMBERS.

- D. 6th Feb., 1851. Akerman, John Yonge, Sec. S.A.; F.S.A. Newcastle; F.R.S. of Northern Antiquaries; Corr. Mem. SS. Antiq. Scot. France, Russia, Switzerland, Rome; Somerset House, London.
 D.P. 13th Nov., 1851. Bell, William, Ph.D., 17, Gower Place, Euston Square, London.
 P. 6th Feb., 1851. Betham, Sir William, M.R.I.A., Ulster King at Arms, the Castle, Dublin.
 6th Feb., 1851. Blaauw, Wm. Henry, M.A., F.S.A., M.R.G.S., 3, Queen Anne Street, London, and Beechland, Uckfield, Sussex.
 6th Feb., 1851. Boileau, Sir John P., Bart., F.R.S., F.S.A., Ketteringham Park, Wyndham, Norfolk, and 20, Upper Brooke Street, London.
 6th Feb., 1851. Charlton, Edward, M.D., F.S.A., Newcastle, 7, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

- d. 8th Jan., 1852. De Perthes, J. Boucher de Crevecoeur, Chevalier des ordres de Malte et de Legion d'honneur, membre des diverses Sociétés Savantes, Abbeville.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Duncan, Philip B., M.A., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- d. 6th Dec. 1849. Londesborough, The Lord, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A., Grimeston, Tadcaster, and 8, Carleton-house Terrace, London.
- 9th Dec., 1852. MacAdam, Robert, College Square, Belfast.
- D.E.P. 7th May, 1851. PIDGEON, Henry Clarke, 2, Russell Place, Fitzroy Square, London, LONDON SECRETARY.
- D.E. 6th Feb., 1851. Smith, Charles Roach, F.S.A., Hon. Mem. SS. Antig. France, Copenhagen, Normandy, Scotland, Spain, Newcastle, the Morini, Abbeville, and Picardy, 5, Liverpool Street, City, London.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Turnbull, Wm., B.D.D., F.S.A. Scot., 3, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, London.
- d. 6th Feb., 1851. Turner, Dawson, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., Hon. M.R.I.A., M.R.S.L., Barnes, Surrey, and Athenæum Club, London.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Williams, Rev. John, M.A., Llanymowddwy, Mal-lwyd.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Willis, Rev. Robert, M.A., F.R.S., Jacksonian Professor, Caius' College, Cambridge.

COUNCIL AND OFFICERS FOR 1852-3.

President.

The Right Hon. The EARL OF ELLESMERE, D.C.L., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., Worsley Hall, Lancashire.

Vice-Presidents.

EX OFFICIO.

The MAYOR OF CHESTER.

The MAYOR OF LANCASTER.

The MAYOR OF LIVERPOOL.

The MAYOR OF MANCHESTER.

ELECTED.

Right Hon. The EARL OF SEFTON, Croxteth Hall, Lancashire.

Major-General The Hon. Sir EDWARD CUST, K.C.H., D.C.L., F.R.S., Leasowe Castle, Cheshire.

The Venerable JONATHAN BROOKS, M.A., Archdeacon of Liverpool, Everton, Liverpool.

Rev. DAVID THOM, D.D., Ph.D., Edge Hill, Liverpool.

Other Members of the Council, elected.

THOMAS BAINES, Esq., 12, Castle Street.

JOSEPH BOULT, Esq., Harrington Chambers, North John Street.

SAMUEL GATH, Esq., 137, Finch Street.

EDWARD HIGGIN, Esq., Elmleigh, Breckside Park.

Rev J. S. HOWSON, M.A., Collegiate Institution.

JAMES KENDRICK, M.D., Warrington.

DAVID LAMB, Esq., Plumpton Terrace, Everton.

Lieut. WM. Lord, R.N., Revenue Buildings.

JOHN BUCK LLOYD, Esq., Exchange Alley, Exchange Street West.

JAMES MIDDLETON, Esq., F.S.A., Grecian Terrace, Everton.

THOMAS MOORE, Esq., 18, Chapel Street.

JAMES A. PICTON, F.S.A., Clayton Square.

JOHN POOLE, Esq., 28, Oxford Street.

C. B. ROBINSON, Esq., 102, Chatham Street.

JOHN ROBSON, Esq., Warrington.

JAMES W. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Orange Court, Castle Street.

Auditors.

PETER R. M'QUIE, Esq., 20, Water Street.

JOHN MATHER, Esq., 58, Mount Pleasant.

Treasurer.

THOMAS AVISON, F.S.A., 15, Cook Street, Liverpool.

Honorary Curator of the Museum.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., 68, Lord Street, Liverpool.

Honorary Secretaries.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Rev. A. HUME, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., 9, Clarence Street, Everton, Liverpool.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

Rev. THOMAS MOORE, M.A., Norwood Grove, Whitefield Road, Everton.

SECRETARY IN LONDON.

H. C. PIDGEON, Esq., 2, Russell Place, Fitzroy Square.



FIRST MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 4th November, 1852.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Certificates of eight Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table :—

1. From the *Societies*.

Archæologia, or Transactions of the Society of Antiquarians, London, vols. xxxiii and xxxiv.

Proceedings of the Society, vol. i.

Do. Do. vol. ii (parts 18–32.)

Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. v.

Transactions of the Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society, vol. i.

Archæologia Cambrensis, or Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association, New Series, No. xii, for October, 1852.

Proceedings of the Numismatic Society, session 1851–52.

2. From the *Authors*.

Report on the Excavations made on the site of the Roman Castrum at Lyme in Kent, in 1850, by Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A., and James Elliott, Jun.

History of Liverpool, by Thos. Baines, Esq. Section 8, concluding.

Remarks on some of the Weapons of the Celtic and Teutonic Races, by John Yonge Akerman, Sec. S.A.

An Attempt to illustrate the Chronology of the Old Testament by a reference to the Year of Jubilee, by the Rev. George B. Sanford, M.A.

3. From *other* Donors.

- Robt. Rawlinson, Esq.,
London. Report to the Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry respecting KESWICK.
Do. Do. respecting NEWTON HEATH.
Do. Do. BARTON-UPON-IRWELL.
Do. Do. MUCH WOOLTON.
Minutes of Information collected with reference to Sewage, Manure, and the Health of Towns.
- Thos. Eckersley, Esq.,
Wigan. A gold coin of the Roman Emperor Vitellius, found at the Mesnes, Wigan.
- John Harland, Esq.,
Manchester. A series of Antiquarian Cuttings from the Manchester Guardian.
- Robert Molyneux
Green, Esq. Ten silver coins found at Prescott in 1813, on taking down a house in the Market-place. They were found in an earthenware vessel glazed inside, about sixteen inches under the floor. The vessel was twelve inches high and nine in diameter; and contained several hundred silver coins with one piece of gold. These were two shillings of Edward VI, mint mark an oval; a sixpence of Edward VI, mint mark an oval; a shilling of Edward VI, mint mark "y."; a shilling of Philip and Mary; a shilling of James VI, (Scotland); a sixpence of Elizabeth, mint mark a crown; a shilling of James I, (England) mint mark a star; two half-crowns of James I, mint mark a vase.
- John Mather, Esq. Liverpool a Few Years since, by an Old Stager.
- Dr. Kendrick, Warrington. Models in Sulphur, by Mr. Doubleday of the British Museum, of the Jet Chess-men found at the Mote Hill, Warrington.
Lithograph shewing the Excavations at the Mote Hill.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED :—

- By John Mawdsley, Esq., A large series of English coins in gold, silver and copper.
Seacombe.
- By J. G. Woodhouse, Esq. A folio volume relating to Sicilian coins and medals.
Lithographed fac-simile of Nelson's order for "Bronte" wine, intended to illustrate vol. iv of Proceedings and Papers.

- By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. A medallion portrait of the Marquis of Westminster's fool.
- By Peter R. M'Quie, Esq. Leigh's Natural History of Lancashire and Cheshire, and of the Peak in Derbyshire, fol. 1700.
- By Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington. A large coloured drawing of the Excavations at the Mote Hill, Warrington, shewing the strata of earth, some of the objects discovered, &c.
- By W. G. Herdman, Esq. Drawings of several Dissenting Chapels, in Liverpool Ancient and Modern, to illustrate Dr. Thom's Paper for the Evening.

PAPERS.

I.—LIVERPOOL CHURCHES AND CHAPELS; THEIR DESTRUCTION, REMOVAL, OR ALTERATION :

WITH NOTICES OF CLERGYMEN, MINISTERS, AND OTHERS.

By Rev. D. Thom, D.D., Ph. D., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society.

PART II.

Having thus disposed of Churches and Chapels which at one time or another have been connected with the Establishment, our attention is now to be directed to Dissenting Congregations, and to changes which have taken place in the edifices where they have been in the habit of worshipping. Some of these changes having already attracted notice, we need not repeat them. We speak of,

1.—*Newington Chapel, Renshaw Street.*

A middling sized, respectable looking building, which, owing to its standing back considerably from the street, is apt to be overlooked by the stranger. But it is not altogether undeserving of his attention. There is an entrance to it also from Cropper Street. It was erected in 1777, by a body of English Presbyterians, chiefly connected with the small chapel in Toxteth Park, who, having taken exception to the appointment of Mr. Hugh Anderson to be minister, withdrew from their old associates. We have reason to believe that the choice of its site, as having been then out of the town, and requiring to be approached by a stile, was objected to by several of the congregation. Mr. Jonathan Mercer, who made the purchase, had some difficulty in overcoming the opposition of his friends. However, at

last he succeeded. So greatly have circumstances altered since that time, that the chapel, it will be allowed by all, is now central enough.

Mr. David Bruce was the first pastor, under whose care the congregation assembling in Newington Chapel became united to the Independents.

The character of Mr. Bruce was highly respectable. After labouring among his people usefully for the space of more than thirty years, he died 28th January, 1808. For some time before his death, he was assisted in the discharge of his ministerial duties by his nephew, Mr. John Bruce, afterwards located in the Isle of Wight, and for a long time chaplain and registrar at the Cemetery, Low-hill—author of a volume entitled “Necropolis,” and other works. During the incumbency of Mr. David Bruce, at Newington Chapel, 1792, several of his congregation, joining with others like them favourable to the doctrine and discipline of the Established Church of Scotland, left him, to lay the foundation of Oldham Street Kirk, and place themselves under the pastoral care of Dr. Kirkpatrick.

Some years after Mr. Bruce's death, the congregation of Newington Chapel, having been struck with the eloquence and other pulpit gifts of Mr. Thomas Spencer, unanimously called on him to become their minister. He accepted the call. Early in 1811 he commenced his labours. Nothing could exceed his popularity. Crowds of persons, including churchmen as well as dissenters, constantly flocked to listen to him. He was then only twenty years of age. His extreme youth, the intonations of his voice which are said to have been music itself, and the ease and natural grace with which he spoke, conspired to impart to his public appearances an influence which was perfectly fascinating. His hearers, in spite of themselves, were hurried along by the stream and force of his oratory,* As one consequence of this state of things, an enlargement of the existing chapel, or the erection of a new one, became necessary. The latter alternative, as we shall see immediately, was adopted. In June, 1811, Mr. Spencer was ordained. Closely following this event, he laid the foundation-stone of Great George Street Chapel, a building intended for him, and rendered indispensable by the almost clamorous demand for sittings, occasioned by his pathetic and

* “SPENCER, from all I could learn at Liverpool during eleven years occupation of his pulpit, seems to have approached nearest to the pathos and fascination of Whitfield, but he had evidently none of his commanding majesty.”—*Philip's Life and Times of George Whitfield*, p. 558.

effective pulpit addresses. But George Street Chapel he was never to occupy. Every inhabitant of Liverpool who has read Dr. Raffles's narrative of Thomas Spencer—and who that takes any interest in the religious affairs of the town has not read it?—is aware, that on the 5th day of August, 1811, the amiable, talented, and promising youth, of whom we are now speaking, was drowned while bathing in the River Mersey, near the then Herculaneum Potteries. The deep and thrilling sensation produced in the public mind by this event was all-absorbing, and is still remembered by many. Great lamentation and woe, especially among the dissenting body ensued. The funeral may justly be said to have been a public one. Spencer's corpse was deposited in the small burial ground attached to the chapel, in a grave situated between the building and Renshaw Street.

Consequent on Mr. Spencer's death was the appointment of Mr. Thomas Raffles, now D.D. and LL.D., as his successor; and the removal of the greater part of the congregation of Newington Chapel with that gentleman to the edifice in Great George Street, on May 29th, 1812.

After the lapse of two or three years the church and congregation, assembling in Newington, were again organized, and came under the pastoral care of Mr. Robert Philip. His induction took place in 1814 or 1815. Mr. Philip's ministry in Liverpool extended till 1826, when he demitted his charge, and went to London to preside over the religious services of Maberley Chapel. The public character of this gentleman, who is still alive, speaks for itself. He is well known as an author. Among his works may be mentioned the "Bethel Flag, or sermons to seamen," 1823, "The life and times of George Whitfield," and his biography of William Mylne, the Chinese Missionary.

It was during the incumbency of Mr. Philip, early in 1820,* that the present neat Gothic façade of Newington Chapel, as seen from Renshaw Street, was put up. Previously, the chapel had fronted Cropper Street. To the kindness and generosity of Mr. Benjamin Baker, marble mason and statuary, the congregation were indebted for a present of the stones, by which they were enabled to carry a very decided and desirable improvement of their place of worship into effect. Those now alive, who can recollect the not merely plain but unsightly aspect of the Renshaw Street

* "New fronted, 2nd of February, 1820." These words are engraved on the top of the right-hand buttress.

end of the chapel before the alteration took place, and have remarked its present appearance, are thereby qualified to understand how, by means of a little taste, enterprise, and pecuniary outlay, a positive eyesore may be converted into an ornament.

For some years after Mr. Philip's departure, Mr. Robert M'Lean, a gentleman of high respectability of character, occupied the pulpit.

To him, about 1831, succeeded Mr. Patrick Thomson, A.M.

Mr. William Lindsay Alexander, A.M., was in 1833 and 1834 pastor of Newington Chapel. The superiority of this gentleman's talents and attainments was too great and too well-known, to permit him to remain long the luminary of a comparatively obscure chapel in a provincial town. Hence his early removal to Edinburgh. This able and eminent man has for years been regarded as one of the ornaments of the Scottish Independent body. He is certainly one of their most influential ministers. His various publications, but above all, his connexion with Kitto's periodical, have acquired for him a high standing in the theologico-literary world. The University of St. Andrews, of which he had been an *alumnus*, as a mark of its approbation, and appreciation of his superior ability, some time ago conferred on him the degree of D.D. While in Liverpool he became favourably known as a controversialist. The Rev. William Dalton, A.M., then incumbent of St. Jude's, having in 1834 published his "Reasons for attachment to the Church of England," Mr. Alexander immediately assailed it in his "Examination of the 'Reasons,'" &c., a pamphlet displaying his possession of a vigorous intellect, and splendid argumentative powers.

When Mr. Alexander vacated the pulpit of Newington Chapel, it came to be occupied by Mr. William Dallison. The career of this zealous preacher was but a brief one. Having exerted himself far beyond his strength, fever soon stepped in to put an end to his life and ministry. His death took place in 1836, or early in 1837. In the same grave, with his lamented predecessor Spencer, his body reposes.* Mr. Dallison, by his zealous and earnest pulpit discourses, acquired considerable local popularity

Mr. William Bevan was Mr. Dallison's immediate successor. He com

* An affecting incident has been related to us, on good authority, in connection with this gentleman's funeral. Immediately behind the corpse, in the procession, was seen Dr. Raffles, condescendingly and affectionately holding by the hand a little boy, the eldest son of the deceased, and apparently, from time to time, whispering words of consolation to the youthful mourner.

menced his pastorship July 12th, 1837. For ten years he approved himself to the people under his charge as an able and efficient minister. At last, his activity and superior business habits occasioned his removal to the Metropolis, in July, 1847. Reports of different Liverpool Societies, drawn up by himself as Secretary, during his residence in this town, gained him no small share of credit and influence.

The church* and congregation of Newington Chapel have for several years enjoyed the benefit of the able ministrations of Mr. Robert Spence, A. M., the present pastor.†

2.—*Great George Street Chapel.*

This beautiful structure, as it ranks the first in point of size, so is it the first as regards the number and respectability of its worshippers, among the dissenting chapels of Liverpool.

Its origin we have already noticed. Spencer's popularity was the immediate cause of its existence. That eloquent and popular preacher having laid the foundation stone in 1811, a short time before the melancholy catastrophe that terminated his life, it was opened for divine worship in May, 1812. Full particulars respecting Mr. Spencer's brief but interesting career, and some acquaintance with his style of writing, may be obtained by consulting Dr. Raffles's able, pleasing, and pathetic narrative,—a graceful tribute paid to the memory of the amiable and lamented youth, by his distinguished successor.

This leads me to observe, that the history of Great George Street Chapel may be briefly told. Nothing else, indeed, is it, up to the present moment, save a record of circumstances connected with the personal ministry of Dr. Raffles. He has, for the space of 40 years, officiated as its sole pastor. Through his exertions, not only the congregation, but the Independent interest as a whole, has flourished. For me, however, to expatiate in praise of his character would be an impertinence. The affection and confidence, not merely of those immediately under his charge, but of the congregational body in general, constitute his best eulogium. Degrees

* The church, in a congregational sense, and in its present form, was organized at the time of Mr. Bevan's admission as Pastor, in July, 1837.

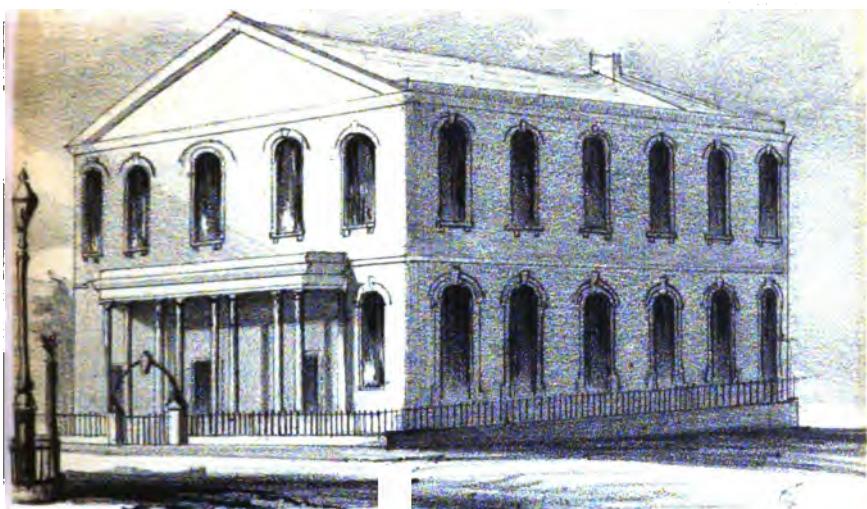
† Mr. Spence commenced preaching at Newington Chapel on the third Sunday of July, 1848, and was set apart, by imposition of hands, to the ministerial office, on the 26th day of October following.

of LL.D. and D.D., conferred upon him at different times, serve to shew that his literary merits have not been overlooked by those who possess the power of dispensing academical honours. His refusal of a London pulpit, when offered to him, affords a most decided proof of the strength of the affection subsisting between his people and himself. Concerning his urbanity, prudence, eloquence, poetical turn of mind, great general ability, and power of rivetting the attention of a popular audience, there can be but one opinion.

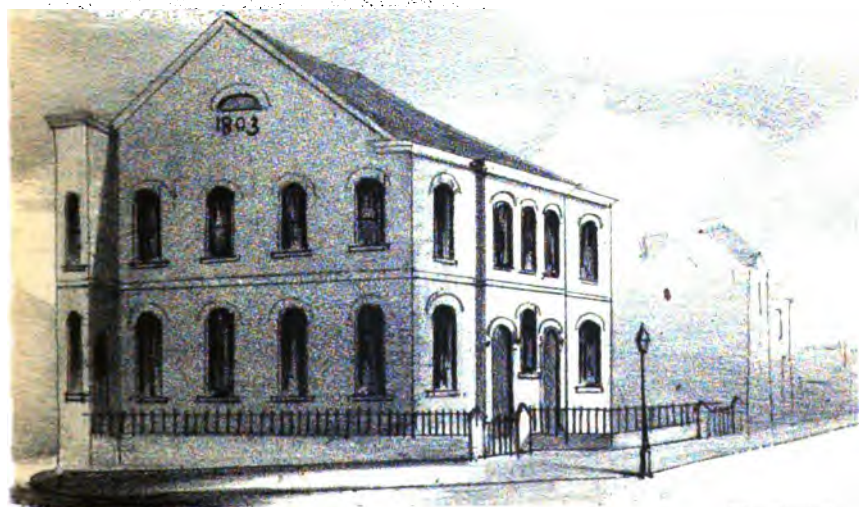
Besides his *Life and Remains of Spencer*, which has passed through several editions, the Doctor has given to the public his *Tour on the Continent*, two volumes of *Discourses*, several *Sermons*, preached on funeral and other occasions, and a variety of beautiful hymns. His tastes are antiquarian, and he is well known to excel in various branches of archæological lore. For the space of three years, being the term prescribed by you, he held the distinguished office in your Society, to which it was your pleasure sometime since to elevate the writer of these lines.

What George Street Chapel originally was, may be seen in prints and engravings of the building. I say, originally was; for the chapel of which Spencer laid the foundation stone, exists no longer.* Fire destroyed it on the 19th February, 1840. A single hour, from 9 to 10, a.m., sufficed to consume the whole of the interior. But its site did not long remain occupied by ruins. Subscriptions, by zealous and affectionate friends, were immediately entered into, having it for their object to replace the former building by one of greater commodiousness and magnificence. Success crowned the efforts of those concerned. The foundation stone of the new edifice was laid by Dr. Raffles, on the 7th July, 1840; and within a very limited period, the members of the church were again worshipping, on the same spot as formerly, under the roof of a chapel, not only far surpassing its predecessor, but in respect of size, and elegance of design, having but few com-

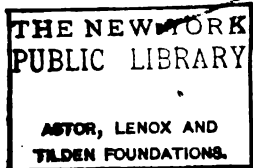
* Many are the dissenting ministers of eminence who have spoken from the pulpit of this chapel. Well do I remember hearing the celebrated and eccentric Rowland Hill preach in it, in the autumn (I think) of 1824. Enfeebled as he was by age, the energy put forth on the occasion by this great and good man, was to me perfectly astonishing. Be it borne in mind, that the Rev. Rowland Hill had been intimate with George Whitfield for some years prior to his death, in September, 1770; and that remarks of his are quoted by Toplady, as possessed of value, and carrying with them authority, under dates of March, 1770, and August, 1775. See Philip's "*Life and Times of Whitfield*," pp. 265, 500, 501, and 555; and Toplady's *Works*, (London: Baynes and Son, 1125.) vol. iv., pp. 320, and 354-5, where he is setting down "Excellent passages from Eminent Persons."



ST GEORGES STREET



LIME STREET CHAPEL



petitors, among the ecclesiastical structures of our town. It was opened October 21st, 1841.

3.—*Unitarian Chapel, Hope Street.*

This splendid and perfectly unique Gothic edifice, forming one of a group of public buildings, all calculated to draw and reward attention, was erected within the last three or four years, by the congregation, originally Presbyterian, which met for worship, first, in Kaye or Key Street Chapel, 1707, and which afterwards removed to Paradise Street, corner of School Lane, on the 11th day of September, 1791.

Under the head of "St. Matthew's Church former," (Key Street Chapel,) we have already given an abstract of the history of this congregation, and of the successive pastorates of Mr. Basnett, Mr. Brekell, Mr. Philip Taylor, and Mr. John Yates. To that we must refer the members of the Society for information. We now resume the thread of our narrative, where we previously broke off.

Respecting the fourth of the gentlemen just named, a few additional observations deserve to be made.

Mr. Yates' ministry was a very long one. It commenced at Key Street Chapel 1st October, 1777, and continued, after the removal of his flock with him to Paradise Street Chapel, in 1791, until the year 1812, when "he judged it expedient to resign his ministerial charge. But his congregation was so warmly attached to him, and so desirous of the continuance of his services, that he agreed to continue them with the aid of a co-pastor, and his hearers made choice of the late amiable and eloquent Pendlebury Houghton, who was one of his earliest friends, having been his fellow-student at Warrington Academy. At length, Mr. Yates and Mr. Houghton, as increasing years brought with them increased infirmity, simultaneously relinquished the pastoral office, in the spring of 1823,"* This event took place in the month of April, of that year. Some pleasing testimonials of gratitude and respect were presented to Mr. Yates, by his hearers, on that occasion. Notwithstanding, however, the severance of the link which had so long united them, a very close and endearing intercourse between the former pastor and his former congregation, was still kept up; and many tokens of mutual affection and esteem continued to be exchanged by the

* Monthly Repository, January, 1827, p. 69.

parties. Mr. Yates survived between 3 and 4 years his demission of the pastoral office. His death occurred November 10th, 1826, being the 71st anniversary of his birthday.* His remains were interred in the ancient cemetery connected with the Presbyterian Chapel, Toxteth Park. On Sunday, the 19th November following, Mr., afterwards Dr. Shepherd, of Gataker Chapel, so well known for his classical and literary attainments, and for years acting a most conspicuous part on the stage of politics,† preached the funeral sermon in Paradise Street Chapel, in presence of a numerous and sorrowing auditory. The discourse was afterwards published;‡ Much information of an interesting nature concerning the deceased is to be gleaned from this clever and characteristic performance; while persons who are desirous to become acquainted with still more minute particulars, are referred to an able and well written obituary, which appeared in the columns of the "Monthly Repository," for January, 1827. Mr. Yates, it seems, received occasional assistance, in the discharge of his pulpit duties, at a comparatively early period of his ministry, from two gentlemen who stood successively in the relation of tutors to his sons, viz., Mr. Benjamin Davies, afterwards of Walsall and Evesham, and Dr. Shepherd. To this we may add, that the only two productions ever issued from the press, of which he was avowedly the author or editor, were, one of them a sermon preached by him on occasion of the death of his friend, Dr. Barnes, of Cross Street Chapel, Manchester,§ and the other a selection of hymns, intended for public worship.||

* Born at Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, Nov. 10, 1755. At the grammar school of that place, he received the elements of a classical education, while at the then celebrated Warrington academy he was trained for the ministry, under Drs. Enfield and Aiken.

† See, for *somewhat conflicting* accounts of this remarkable man, "Liverpool a few years since, by an Old Stager," pp. 61-63; and "Literary Reminiscences from the autobiography of an English opium eater," (De Quincey,) pp. 27, 28, and 36, of the Boston, U. S. edition, Tickner and Co., 1851. Those who wish to peruse the letter which De Quincey's stinging remarks drew forth from Dr. Shepherd, and the rejoinder to it, must consult "Tait's Edinburgh Magazine," for 1837, in which the "Reminiscences" originally appeared. It is impossible for any one who ever saw Dr. Shepherd to forget the singularly comical expression of his left eye.

‡ "A Sermon on occasion of the death of the Rev. John Yates, preached on Sunday, November 19th, 1826, in Paradise Street Chapel, by the Rev. William Shepherd;" published at Liverpool, London, Glasgow, Dublin, New York and Boston, 1826.

§ Dr. Barnes was Mr. Grundy's predecessor.

|| It is to be regretted that two sermons of Mr. Yates', one preached in exposure of the enormities and inhuman nature of the Slave Trade, January, 1788, which gave great offence to many influential members of his congregation, and the other on occasion of the opening of Paradise Street Chapel, Sunday, September 11th, 1791, although at the time transcribed and handed about in manuscript, have not survived in a more permanent form, to enrich the religious literature of our town.

Instead of entering at full length into the details of Mr. Pendlebury Houghton's personal history, I content myself with bringing the following abridgement of it under the notice of the Society. He was a native of Hyde, where he first saw the light in 1758. For the earlier part of his education, he was indebted to his father, Mr. John Houghton, a dissenting minister, who taught school successively at Namptwich and Ealand; at Warrington Academy he was entered in 1773; after completing his studies there, he assisted Dr. Aiken for a twelvemonth in the chair of classic literature, and commenced the duties of the ministry at Doblane Chapel, near Manchester, at the expiry of that period. There, however, his stay was but short. In 1781, we find him discharging the functions of the pastoral office at Shrewsbury. In 1787, leaving Shrewsbury, he became colleague to his old tutor, Dr. Enfield, in the Octagon Chapel, Norwich; and in 1797, on the death of that able and accomplished man, undertook to act as sole minister. Norwich he quitted in 1808, in consequence of having been appointed to the charge of Prince's Street Chapel, Westminster; but to Norwich he returned in 1810. From 1812 till 1823, he was, as we have already seen, co-pastor with Mr. Yates, in Paradise Street Chapel, Liverpool. Both colleagues having simultaneously resigned in the year last specified, Mr. Houghton retired altogether from the ministry. He went to reside with Mr. Henry Dowson, who had married his only daughter—his only child indeed—at Geldestone, near Beccles, Co. Suffolk. There, on the 3rd April, 1824, he died and was buried. He still lives in the affectionate recollection of many of his Liverpool friends. His dispositions are stated by his biographer, Mr. Robberds, to have been gentle and amiable, and his appearance venerable and impressive.* Abilities of a superior order, combined with great taste, have uniformly been ascribed to him by his admirers.†

* "Apostolic" is the term applied to the personal appearance of Mr. Houghton, not only by Robberds, his biographer, (see p. 20,) but by others. By more than one gentleman, I have heard him described, as having borne a resemblance to the portraits of John Wesley. This, I am inclined to doubt. Certain it seems to be, that there was something peculiarly prepossessing and engaging, as well as venerable and commanding, in his general aspect. Great simplicity—not that of weakness, but of power and mental superiority—was, I suspect, his leading characteristic.

† For my own part, I must confess, that I have been somewhat disappointed by a perusal of the first volume of Robberd's edition of Mr. Houghton's Sermons, 1826. Perhaps, this has been the result of the exceedingly high terms in which they had been previously spoken of to me by two gentlemen, the competency of whom to judge, in a matter of this kind, it has never occurred to me to dispute. I now feel that I had been led to anticipate too much. Let me do these sermons justice, however. Viewed as pieces of composition, they deserve to be spoken of as excellent. They abound in specimens of good sense—are occasionally very eloquent—exhibit throughout the most

While at Norwich, in 1790, he published a volume of sermons; a second edition of which appeared in 1809, having annexed to it *Essays on the Natural Arguments for a Future State*, and a discourse for a charitable purpose, which he had preached and published in 1801. Two additional volumes of sermons were prepared and sent to the press, by Mr. Houghton, a short time before his decease; but did not appear until after that event, in 1825. They were published by Rowland Hunter, London; are embellished by a portrait of the author, and have prefixed to them a sketch of his life and character, by Mr. J. G. Robberds, of Manchester.

To Messrs. Yates and Houghton, Mr. John Grundy succeeded in 1823. This gentleman, who was a nephew of the celebrated John Prior Estlin, LL.D., and had for some years been one of the ministers of Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, had become rather eminent during his stay in that place, by the part which he took in the Unitarian controversy, as well as by his general superiority in point of talents. Two volumes of discourses attest his eloquence, his elegance of taste, and his acquaintance with the topics of which he treats. At the opening of the chapel in Renshaw Street, in 1811, he had been selected to officiate. Judging from a long extract that appears in Mr.

refined taste—are distinguished by a use of imagery, judicious and sparing, but indicating the rich and copious stores, upon which, when he pleased, the author was ready to draw—are expressed in the choicest English phraseology—and breathe throughout the language of genuine philanthropy. Set off by those graces of elocution, which he had studied carefully in the school of Enfield, and which all who have been his hearers concur in ascribing to him, these discourses must, in the delivery, have been singularly impressive. Having said this, however, I have said all. I miss in these compositions depth, strength, originality, and some other of the highest qualities of intellect. They appear to me to be what a man classically educated, gifted with taste, and possessed of superior, but not first-rate talents, and of a decidedly benevolent temper, might be expected to produce. Marks of the pruning knife everywhere appear; indeed, with a true English sense of propriety, the discourses have evidently been tamed, and toned down. Of their theology, I say not a word. In point of common sense, sound practical morality, and occasionally of style even, they remind me of Blair; but, whenever this is the case, it is Blair condensed and improved. The eloquence of Houghton is natural, not factitious,—he is not a mere spinner out of sentences,—and he can boast of something like genius,—in all which respects he stands distinguished from the dreadfully over-bepraised sermon-writer of last century. Notwithstanding my employment of language which by some of the out and out admirers of Pendlebury Houghton may be regarded as unduly disparaging, this I am willing to admit, that, like some other eminent men, he has left upon my mind the impression of having possessed abilities far superior to those, which disclose themselves on the face of his writings.

I cannot dismiss this note, without mentioning what I have heard, on what I deem to be good authority, that a clergyman, belonging to the Established Church, in this town, pretty well known in his time, and many years ago deceased, was so enamoured of Mr. Houghton's sermons, and style of preaching, as to have declared, that but for his own duties having imperatively demanded his presence elsewhere, he would have been regularly one of that gentleman's hearers.

Taylor's MS. volume, pp. 42-45, the sermon which he delivered on the occasion must have been a very interesting and impressive one. Mr. Grundy's pulpit discourses, while minister of Paradise Street Chapel, were much admired. But his connexion with it, and the congregation worshipping in it, was not of very long continuance. About 1832, or 1833, he demitted his office.* Infirm health was in a great measure the cause of his taking this step. His death occurred several years afterwards. From my personal recollection of Mr. Grundy, I am enabled to speak of him as having been an exceedingly amiable, gentlemanlike, and well-informed man.

After Mr. Grundy's relinquishment of the situation, its duties devolved on Mr. James Martineau, who had for some time been officiating at Eustace Street Meeting House, Dublin, as assistant to his aged relation, Mr. Philip Taylor, formerly spoken of; and to whom, on occasion of Mr. Taylor's death, the succession had been offered. Conscientious motives, most honourable to Mr. Martineau, had dictated a refusal on his part.† At this time, his eminence and promising talents, having attracted much notice among the Unitarian body, and he besides having been favourably known in Liverpool, an invitation to succeed Mr. Grundy was forwarded to him, with which he saw meet to comply.

Mr. Martineau, who is a native of Norwich, and one of the brothers of the celebrated Miss Harriet Martineau, is himself too well known, and too highly appreciated, as a public speaker, a man, and a writer on political as well as religious topics, to stand in need of any encomiums of mine. All his productions are sought after. In particular, his "Rationale of Religious Inquiry," which has passed through at least three editions, and his "Endeavours after the Christian Life," in two parts, have obtained for him no small degree of reputation, not only among members of his own religious community, but the reading public in general. The part which he took in the Unitarian controversy, in this town, about the year 1839, is not yet forgotten. Some interesting correspondence, growing out of this, will be found in the

* I observe that he is set down as co-pastor with Mr. Martineau, in the Liverpool Directory, for 1833.

† He could not conscientiously accept of this *Regium Donum*, which, for the last 50 or 60 years, Government has been in the habit of allowing to the Irish Presbyterian ministers. Most cheerfully would he have officiated as pastor, relying on the generous support of the congregation alone. Finding, however, a disinclination to meet his wishes on this point, rather than damage, in a pecuniary sense, the interests of the chapel on the one hand, or submit to become a State stipendiary on the other, he relinquished the proffered charge.

memoir of the late Dr. Byrth, of Wallasey, recently published by Mr. Moncrieff.*

It is, perhaps, quite superfluous to add, that Mr. Martineau still continues minister of the congregation, formerly worshipping in Paradise Street,† but which took possession of the present elegant edifice in Hope Street, two or three years since.‡ How striking the contrast between the few plain Presbyterians, principally Scotch and Irish, who first assembled for devotional purposes, in Key Street Chapel, 1707, and the genteel, highly-cultivated, and flourishing congregation which now listens weekly to the prelections of their present talented minister! By the way, some of the descendants of the original founders of this body, now moving in the highest circles of Liverpool Society, are still to be found enrolled among the supporters of the cause.

Several interesting monuments, including one erected to the benevolent and public-spirited Mr. Brooks, Grand-Uncle of the present venerable Archdeacon of this diocese, (see the inscription in Moss' history),§ adorn the walls of the chapel in Hope Street. Most, if not all of these, had been previously put up in the Meeting House, Paradise Street.

4.—Unitarian Chapel, Renshaw Street.

By means of Mr. Taylor's MS. volume, and polite communications from Mr. John Hamilton Thom, and Mr. John Mather, I have been put in possession of minute particulars concerning the origin and progress of the congregation which meets for worship in this chapel. To these I am

* See pages 143-150. The work is entitled, "Remains of Thomas Byrth, D.D., F.A.S., Rector of Wallasey, with a memoir of his life. London: Pritchard, 1851."

† Where he officiated for fifteen or sixteen years. The chapel, having been disposed of by the Trustees, has by its new owners been converted into a Concert Hall.

‡ While it was building, he spent a twelvemonth in Germany.

§ By "Moss' History," I mean the work which was published anonymously in Liverpool, in 1795. This remark applies to Part 1, as well as to this. Doubts, however, have been thrown on the assumption of Moss being the author. The following passage, which occurs in "The Liverpool Guide," by W. Moss, p. 3, I am bound to lay before the Society. It occurs in the course of the author's enumeration of the persons who have written on the subject of Liverpool affairs:—

"A familiar medical survey of Liverpool, addressed to the inhabitants. — By W. Moss, Surgeon, Liverpool. Octavo, 1784. Scarce."

"A general and descriptive history of the ancient and present state of the town of Liverpool, &c. Octavo, 1795. No author's name."

Now, when quoting "Moss," or "Moss' history," I mean uniformly not the work of 1784, or the "Guide" of 1790, but the 8vo. volume which appeared anonymously in 1795.

enabled to add facts which have come within the scope of my own personal knowledge.

The Renshaw Street congregation seems to have sprung directly out of the old English Presbyterian body, which occupied, and met for devotional purposes, in the small chapel, Toxteth Park, near the Dingle. Mr. Taylor's account* of the Rev. Richard Mather, father of Dr. Increase Mather, grandfather of Dr. Cotton Mather, both of Massachusetts, New England, and ancestor of highly respectable families in the mother country,† who was pastor of the Park Chapel from 1618, till 1635, when he emigrated to America, is most interesting.‡ After having been under the ministry successively of persons whose names are given, and of whom we are supplied with short accounts, in Mr. Taylor's MS., Toxteth Chapel came under the spiritual superintendence of Mr. Thomas Crompton, M.A., (originally co-pastor with Mr. Michael Briscoe,) who expired at Manchester, in 1699.§ During the incumbency of Mr. Crompton at Toxteth, and subsequently to Mr. Briscoe's death in 1685, he had as his associate in the ministry there, Mr. Christopher Richardson,|| one of the ejected clergymen of 1662. It was by Mr. Richardson, that the first congregation of Presbyterians, in the town of Liverpool, seems to have been brought together and organised. This was about 1687, or 1688, and happened, probably, in consequence of the liberty granted by the Dispensing Edict of James II., one of the steps which led to that ill-advised monarch's downfall. The liberty in question, however, merely afforded an opportunity for the erection of the new chapel. Increase of population, the inconveniences attendant on having to repair to Toxteth Park for worship, and the desire to have a place of meeting nearer at hand, there is little reason to doubt, contributed mainly towards the establishment of the Liverpool society. Mr. Pulmer, in his "Non-Conformists' Memoirs," states, that Mr. Richardson preached alternately, one Lord's day at the Park, and one in Liverpool. He died December, 1698, aged 80.

The original meeting house of this body of Presbyterians in Liverpool, was situated in Castle Hey, now Harrington Street: where, however, seems to be unknown. No local tradition even points to it. Concerning it, Mr.

* Given chiefly on the authority of the celebrated Samuel Clarke.

† May I not say, of respected members of our Society?

‡ Mr. Taylor's MS. Work, so rich in local information, and so admirably condensed will, it is hoped, yet be published.

§ September 2nd.—He had previously removed in 1695, to Eccles, near Manchester.

|| From Kirkheaton, Yorkshire, if I mistake not.

Henry Taylor thus speaks, MS. volume, page 23 ; " the former one," Castle Hey Chapel, " was probably pulled down, as no trace of it can be remembered, nor can the spot on which it stood be ascertained. There was, it is to be presumed, nothing remarkable about the appearance of the building."*

At Mr. Richardson's death, 1698, a separation between Toxteth Park, and Castle Hey Chapels, seems to have taken place. His successors in the former will be found enumerated below.† Mr. Richard Holt was the second incumbent of the latter. He continued to preside over the Society till his death in 1718. Mr., afterwards Dr. Henry Winder, one of the most distinguished ministers of whom the English Presbyterian body of a former day, can boast, was his successor. To his friend, Dr. George Benson, we are indebted for a very interesting memoir of this eminent man, prefixed to a second edition of the Dr. Winder's " Critical and Chronological History of the rise, progress, declension, and revival of knowledge, chiefly religious," in 2 vols., 4to., published 1755. Dr. Winder was born at Hutton-John, Graystock, Cumberland, May 15, 1693—began his studies, preparatory to an Academical career, under Mr. Dixon, Whitehaven, about 1708‡—went subsequently to Dublin, where he prosecuted his researches in divinity and biblical criticism, under Mr. Boyce, and other learned

* May I request the members of the Society to look back to a suggestion which I have thrown out, in a note, Part I, under the head of St. Mary's, Harrington?

† To Mr. Richardson, at Toxteth Park, succeeded Mr. John Kennion, who died incumbent of the chapel, in 1728. Then followed Mr. Gillibrand. This gentleman's ministry was not a long one. Mr. William Harding, from Congleton, Cheshire, took his place, in 1737, and continued to discharge the pastoral functions till his death, 15th July, 1776, aged 85 years. Mr. Hugh Anderson, whose incumbency extended to the period of half a century, was next in order. He was, as already stated, ordained along with Mr. Yates, in Key Street Chapel, 1st October, 1777. Mr. Anderson's appointment, is remarkable, as having, on account of his alleged Arian sentiments, given occasion to the erection of Newton Chapel, Renshaw Street, and through it, either directly, or indirectly, to that of the following places of worship:—Scotch Kirk, Oldham Street, Gloucester Street Chapel—and thus to the Chapel, corner of Mount Pleasant and Great Orford Streets—Great George Street Chapel, Scotch Kirk, Rodney Street—Presbyterian Chapels, Myrtle Street and Huskisson Street—Irish Presbyterian Kirk, Islington, Mill Street Chapel, and that in Bold Street, the congregation worshipping in which is now removed to Crown Street. I knew Mr. Anderson personally. Up almost to the very close of his life, about 1829, or 1830, his was " a green old age." He was tall, erect, and had a very respectable look. For some years before he died, he was pensioned off by the Society, over which he had so long presided. His successors have been Mr. John Porter, (1827 to 1829,) cousin of Mr. John Scott Porter, and now minister of Rosemary Street Chapel, Belfast—Mr. John H. Thom, now of Renshaw Street Chapel, (1829–1831)—Mr. Charles Wickstead, now of Leeds—Mr. Henry Giles, now in the United States of America, (who took part in the Unitarian controversy, 1839,) and Mr. John Robberds, B. A., the present minister.

‡ He had for fellow students, among others, Dr. Rotherham, of Kendal, and Dr. John Taylor, of Norwich.

men, connected at that period with the Presbyterian body—and, having been licensed to preach in Dublin, made his first appearance in the pulpit, in that city.

His first settlement was at Tunley, Lancashire, as successor to Mr. Edward Rothwell, in 1714, and his ordination to the ministry, along with that of Mr. Mather, took place at St. Helens, in the same county, 1716, the sermon on the occasion having been preached by Mr. Christopher Bassett, of Key Street Chapel, Liverpool.

Such a luminary as Mr. Winder, could not long be permitted to expend its radiance on a locality so obscure as that of Tunley. In 1718, we find him called on to occupy the place in Castle Hey Chapel, in our even then rapidly rising town, just left vacant by the death of Mr. Holt. From Castle Hey, the congregation removed to Benn's Garden, in 1727, taking possession of a place of worship, which, by their liberality, they had been enabled to erect.* There the eminent man, of whom I am now speaking, upon whom, in 1740, the University of Glasgow had conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity, continued to officiate till his death, on the 9th day of August, 1752. He had been seized with palsy in 1746. By this disease, his frame was greatly debilitated, and the grief occasioned by the death of his friend, Dr. Rotherham, sufficed to bring on the last and fatal stroke. His remains were interred in St. Peter's Church yard, Liverpool, at the east end, where a stone was afterwards put up, with an appropriate inscription.

Dr. Winder was an ardent friend to civil and religious liberty, and a staunch supporter of the House of Hanover. His political sentiments he evinced by opposing a strenuous and life-long resistance to the Test and Corporation Acts, and by a very large contribution towards the raising of a regiment, for the defence of the town, in 1745.

He seems to have been an able, eloquent, amiable and liberal-minded man. His numerous works, both in print and manuscript, attest the extent and variety of his attainments. To him, the congregation is indebted, for having, by his latter-will, bequeathed to it, for the use of its members, his very valuable library.

The death of Dr. Winder, in 1752, was followed by the accession to the

* A house, close to the chapel, was provided for the residence of the minister.

pastoral charge, of Mr. John Henderson. This gentleman, who was from Dublin,* and had been educated at the University of Glasgow,† assisted Dr. Winder for a considerable time prior to his decease. His assuming the sole charge on occasion of that event, was almost a matter of course. And he was not altogether undeserving of his preferment. According to Wakefield, "he had the character of an excellent preacher, and was very popular." Having for about eleven years discharged the duties of sole pastor to the Benn's Garden congregation, he, in 1763, saw meet to conform to the Established Church. He was, by the Corporation of Liverpool, at a subsequent period,‡ appointed the first incumbent of the then newly completed Church of St. Paul. Over the latter part of Dr. Henderson's life it is desirable to drop a veil. Such as are curious in regard to Liverpool men and matters, and would like to know more concerning this personage, may consult Gilbert Wakefield's "Memoirs," vol. i., pp. 203-206, ed. 1804. Painfully interesting are the facts there related, and most severe on the conduct of the reverend gentleman are the remarks there made. Mr. Taylor, I observe, also expresses himself very severely in his MS. volume, p. 24. The Doctor died during Mr. Wakefield's§ short curacy at St. Paul's, 4th July, 1779, and lies buried under a grave stone, on which are recorded his name, age, and period of demise, at the south-east end of the church, in the angle formed by the south transept and the chancel.

A celebrated man, Dr. Wm. Enfield, was chosen to supply Dr. Henderson's place in Benn's Garden Chapel, and was ordained as its minister in November, 1763. Concerning one so distinguished by his talents, writings, and general character, I may well be excused enlarging. His name belongs, not to Liverpool alone, but to England, or rather to the Empire at large. Suffice it to say, that after having given entire satisfaction to his flock and numerous admiring friends here, he quitted Benn's Garden Chapel, in 1770, to become Tutor in the department of *Belles Letters*, and *Rector Academicus*, at the Warrington Academy. This Institution, so famous in

* His family, Mr. Taylor states, was connected with the Eustace Street congregation there.

† From which learned body, I presume, he had, at a subsequent period, his diploma of D.D.

‡ In 1769, if I mistake not.—See Moss.

§ Mr. Wakefield left Liverpool to become one of the Tutors in the then flourishing Warrington Academy, almost immediately after Dr. Henderson's death, and continued in that Institution until it was broken up in 1783.

its day, was closed in 1783. Dr. Enfield left Warrington in 1785. He had, during his stay at Warrington, added to his other duties, that of minister of the Presbyterian Chapel there. He went from it to Norwich, to resume the pastoral character, as minister of the Octagon Chapel in that city; and in that situation, he finished his active and useful literary and theological career, November 3rd, 1797, in the 57th year of his age.* The short, but exceedingly pleasing memoir, drawn up by John Aiken, M.D., will no doubt be consulted by those who desire to become better acquainted with the history of this amiable and eminent man. His publication, in 1774, after going to Warrington, of Mr. George Perry's map, engravings, and notices of Liverpool, (so he spells the word,) with a preface, and additional historical observations of his own—characterised by his usual acumen and elegance—entitle him to particular mention, in a paper like that which I am now submitting to the Society. A list of his various publications will be found in Dr. Aiken's narrative. (See vol. i, of Dr. Aiken's *Miscellaneous Works*, with life, published by his daughter.) During his residence at Warrington, Dr. Enfield was complimented with the degree of Doctor of Laws, by the University of Edinburgh..

Closely following in order of succession, as one of the ministers of Benn's Garden Chapel, we find Mr. Robert Lewin. His induction took place in November, 1770. This gentleman, it appears, was a native of London, where his father for thirty years held a high and confidential situation in the Bank of England, and he had been educated at Mr. David Jennings's Academy, then in Well-close Square, in the Metropolis.† He had been ordained at Dabenhams, in Suffolk, where he officiated as pastor for four or five years; and had spent from 1766 till 1770, as assistant to Mr. Scott, minister of a congregation at Ipswich. The incumbency of Mr. Lewin was a very protracted one, extending over a period of 46 years. He preached his last discourse in Benn's Garden Chapel, on occasion of that place being abandoned for the new edifice in Renshaw Street, 13th October, 1811; and opened Renshaw Street Chapel, on the morning of the Lord's day following, October 20th; Mr. Grundy, then of Cross Street,

* Mr. P. Houghton was, as we have seen, his colleague at Norwich, from 1787 till 1797.

† Mr. Robert Lewin was related by marriage to the illustrious and benevolent John Howard, who, I am informed, on the authority of his, Mr. L's nephew, Mr. Samuel Walter, occasionally visited him, at his house in Duke Street, between Colquitt and Berry Streets. On one occasion, Mr. Walter saw Mr. Howard there.

Chapel, Manchester, preaching in the afternoon. Mr. Lewin's resignation of the pastoral charge took place at the close of the year 1816, and his death 16th January, 1825, in his 86th year. His body was interred in the small, but ancient cemetery, at the Park Chapel, where the ashes of so many of the forefathers of our present leading Unitarians repose.

During his ministry, Mr. Lewin was generally understood to be a supporter of what is commonly denominated the Arian theory of religion. According to Mr. Walter—himself a Swedenborgian—towards the close of his life, he professed his belief in the proper Deity of Jesus Christ. "Jesus is God," "Jesus is God," is language which, after quitting Renshaw Street, his nephew says he once heard him utter, in the presence of Mr. Charles Leadbetter, an aged Swedenborgian minister, still alive, and himself. A discussion on the subject had preceded.*

Two colleagues, at different periods, shared his duties and responsibilities at Benn's Garden Chapel, with Mr. Lewin.

The first of these was Dr. Clayton, already mentioned. On the breaking up of the Octagon † congregation, in February, 1776, the greater part of this gentleman's friends agreed to join the body of worshippers in Benn's Garden, on condition of their beloved pastor being associated with Mr. Lewin, in the work of the ministry there. The connexion terminated in 1781, in consequence of Dr. ‡ Clayton's appointment to the Theological Chair, at Warrington Academy, rendered vacant by the death of Dr. Aiken.§ Dr. Clayton returned to Liverpool, broken in health, in 1788; became colleague to Mr. Walker, Nottingham, 1785; again, ten years afterwards, took up his residence in Liverpool, (at the Loggerheads' cottage, top of Richmond Row,) and died there, May 20th, 1797, aged 66. He had, early in life, been a pupil of Dr. Doddridge.||

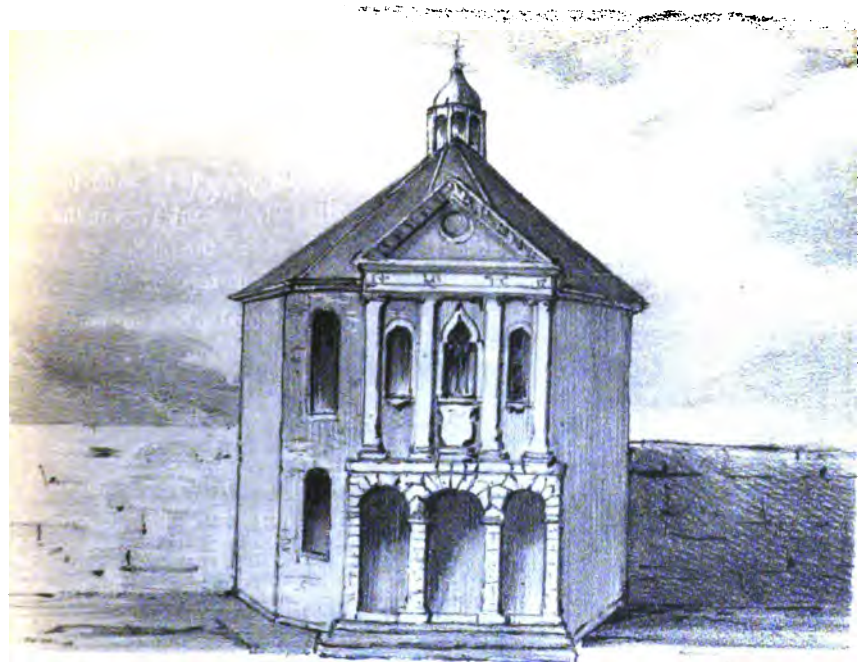
* A Sermon preached by Mr. Lewin, on occasion of the general peace, July, 1784, (should it not be 1783? Mr. Taylor is my authority,) was afterwards published.

† St. Catherine's, Temple Court.

‡ He received his diploma of D.D. from the University of Edinburgh in 1782. According to Mr. Taylor, MS. volume, p. 32, in conferring this degree, the learned *Senatus Academicus* of the Scotch Metropolitan University merely anticipated a similar honour which had been designed for him by that of Glasgow. Of the last-named University, Dr. Clayton was an *alumnus*.

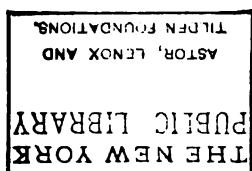
§ Father of John Aiken, M.D., and Mrs. Barbauld. He died 1780. A marble tablet, erected to his memory, with a Latin inscription, written by Gilbert Wakefield, may be seen in the Unitarian Chapel at Warrington.

|| Towards the close of the first volume of Gilbert Wakefield's "Memoirs," there will be found a very sensible and amiable letter, addressed by Dr. Clayton to that distinguished literary character.



ST. CATHERINE'S CHURCH, NEW YORK





In the year 1781, on the departure of Dr. Clayton to Warrington, Mr. Joseph Smith succeeded him, as Mr. Lewin's co-pastor. Mr. Smith, who was a native of Cheshire, had been one of the *élèves* at Warrington Academy. His first settlement was at Shrewsbury, from which he removed to Benn's Garden, Liverpool.* On the 19th July, 1801, in consequence of an infirm state of health, Mr. Smith took leave of his colleague and flock, in the capacity of one of the pastors. This step on his part proved to be final. Although he continued to worship with the Society, till his death, he never afterwards resumed his ministerial functions. He departed this life, 8th August, 1815, and was buried in the cemetery of the Park Chapel.†

Pursuing the course of our narrative, we have now to notice the facts of the purchase of land in Renshaw Street, from the late Samuel Staniforth, Esq., in 1810,—the laying of the foundation stone of the present chapel, on the 31st July, in that year,—and the formal opening of it, on the 20th October, 1811, by Messrs. Lewin and Grundy. The chapel in Benn's Garden, and the adjoining house, intended for the use of the minister, were both disposed of. Since that time, the chapel has been in the occupation of a body of Welsh Wesleyan Methodists.

Behind the chapel in Renshaw Street, there was opened, in 1819, a cemetery, or burial-ground, for the use of the Society. Besides the remains of Dr. Clayton, which were exhumed on occasion of the demolition of St. Catherine's, and deposited here towards the close of 1819, there repose within the precincts of this small graveyard, the bodies of several other distinguished individuals, among whom may be named the historian, William Roscoe, and the Reverend Joseph Blanco White, author of "Letters of Don Leucadio Doblado;" "Poor man's preservative against Popery," &c.

What remains of the history of this chapel and its congregation, may be dismissed in a few paragraphs.

Mr. George Harris, an *alumnus* of Glasgow University, and then officiating at Maidstone, Kent, was, in 1817, chosen to supply the vacancy occasioned by Mr. Lewin's resignation. He began his ministerial services on the 12th day of July, of the year just mentioned,

* At Shrewsbury he was succeeded by Mr. Pendlebury Houghton.

† Was he not maternal grandfather of our able and curiously learned colleague, Thomas Dorning Hibbert, Esq.?

and relinquished them on the 31st March, 1822. Few men can compete with Mr. Harris, in point of activity, mental energy, and powerful pulpit declamation. His personal appearance, in his youthful days, was handsome, and most imposing. Having announced his intention, during the Winter of 1819–1820, to deliver a series of lectures, or discourses, on controversial subjects, great excitement was thereby created among the religious portion of the Liverpool community, and Renshaw Street Chapel was crowded, every Lord's day evening, by attentive and deeply interested auditors. The manner of the preacher was exceedingly impressive. As the Winter and Spring advanced, public feeling became more and more excited; * and this state of things continued till the termination of the course. Three ministers, of different denominations, entered the lists against him. First, the Rev. John Jones, A. M., minister of St. Andrew's Church, Liverpool, who published "a sermon on the eternity of future punishment, preached" at his own church, "on Sunday evening, November 21st, 1819;" secondly, Mr. James Barr, then of Oldham Street Kirk, here, now of St. Enoch's, Glasgow;† and thirdly, Mr. Robert Philip, then of Newington Chapel, here, and now of Maberley Chapel, London, of whom we have had occasion to speak already.‡ Mr. Harris' discourses appeared in the form of a large 8vo. volume, in 1820. This talented and actively-minded gentleman has, since quitting Liverpool, been pastor successively at the chapel, Moor-Lane, Bolton, 1822–1824,—at Union Street Chapel, Glasgow, where he remained for many years, conducting, as Editor, "the Christian Pioneer,"—at St. Mark's Terrace, Edinburgh—and now at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Several of Mr. Harris' occasional discourses, published at different times, have excited great public interest. §

Mr. William Hincks, from Exeter, who had previously been stationed for some time at Cork, on a unanimous invitation from the congregation worshipping in Renshaw Street, accepted of the pastoral oversight among them, and entered on the discharge of his ministerial labours, 3rd Novem-

* The walls, I am informed, were for months chalked with allusions to the subjects of his lectures. "Harris kill the Devil," "No hell fire," &c., &c.

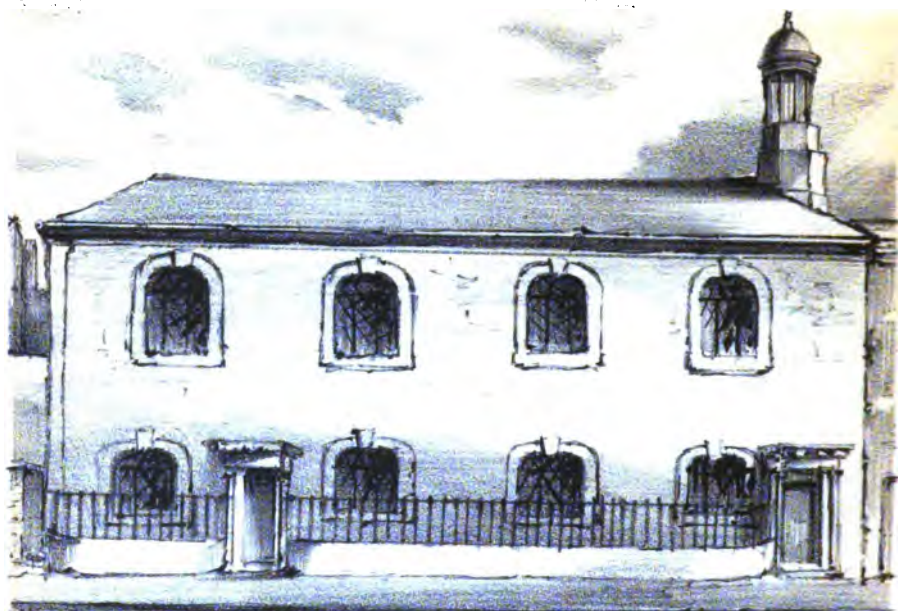
† Mr. Barr's pamphlet, between 50 and 60 pages, 8vo., drawn up in the form of a letter, and subscribed "Aliquis," procured for its author the degree of Doctor of Divinity, from the University of Glasgow.

‡ An oversight committed by this gentleman, in reference to the Hebrew original of Psalm cx., 1, was immediately and adroitly seized on, and turned to account by his religious opponents.

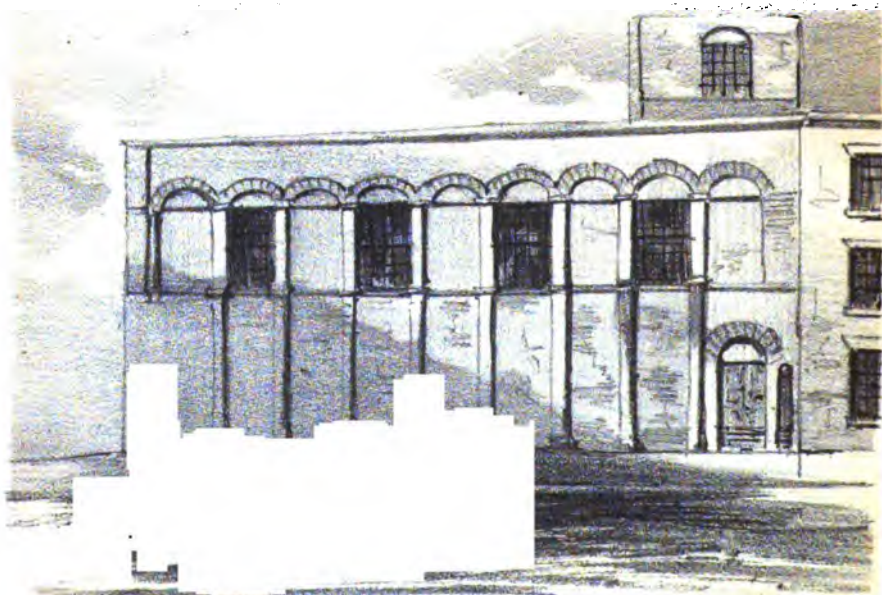
§ Witness his Sermon on "the Rathormac Massacre," which had an immense circulation, and passed through several editions.

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ST STEPHENS, BYRON STREET F



ST. JOHN'S, ST. JOHN'S, GROSVENOR STREET

ber, 1822. His incumbency came to a close in 1827. Since that time, he has been tutor at Manchester College, York, minister at Stamford Street Chapel, London, and Professor of Natural History, Queen's College, Cork, where, I believe, he now is. His brother, Mr. John Hincks, like himself, born at Cork, but educated at Belfast, became, in 1827, his successor at Renshaw Street Chapel. He had had an offer of the chapel at Toxteth Park, on Mr. Anderson's resignation,* but had declined. After a short ministry, and at an early period of life, this amiable and promising man was removed by death† from his sorrowing congregation and friends.‡

To this lamented youth, succeeded Mr. John Hamilton Thom, a native of Newry, educated at the Belfast Academical Institution, where his career was a distinguished one, and who had for some time, 1829–1831, discharged the duties of pastor at the Toxteth Park Chapel. His election took place in 1831. Concerning this able, highly accomplished, and independently-minded man, as being still alive, and still officiating as the minister of Renshaw Street Chapel, a sense of delicacy forbids me to say what otherwise I might have done, in the way of well deserved commendation. This much, however, I must be permitted to express. He shewed his kind and generous feelings, by editing, soon after his settlement at Renshaw Street, a volume of select sermons, of his immediate predecessor, Mr. John Hincks, accompanied by a brief memoir of the author, written by himself. His “Sermon on the death of William Roscoe, Esq.,” 1831, his “Memoirs of the Reverend Joseph Blanco White,” in 3 vols., his numerous occasional pamphlets and discourses, his correspondence with the late Dr. Byrth, and many clever articles in the “Christian Teacher,” and “Prospective Review,” have contributed, along with his well-known attainments, and otherwise, to secure him a deservedly high standing in the literary world.

5.—*Baptist Chapel, Byrom Street.*

With respect to the origin of this structure, and its opening, in 1789, enough has been said already, under the head of St. Stephen's Church. It is a large, plain, and substantial building, capable of accommodating with ease from

* 1827.

+ February 5th, 1831.

‡ He was a remarkably handsome young man. A scene which I witnessed in the vestry of Bold Street Chapel, Liverpool, in August, 1829, in which Mr. Hincks was insulted most grossly and wantonly by the infidels Taylor, and R. Carlile, while on their “Tour,” and in which he comported himself with the greatest mildness, forbearance, and gentlemanlike courtesy, will continue to dwell in my memory, till my dying day.

800 to 1000 sitters, and is situated at the bottom of Gerard Street. A small graveyard is attached to it. Several years ago, the carrying of a railway tunnel under the graveyard, and, if I am not mistaken, under an angle of the Chapel likewise, occasioned its purchase by the London and North-Western Railway Company, and its temporary discontinuance as a place of worship. Recently, having been purchased by Mr. Johnson, it is again used as a meeting house, by a section of the Baptist body.

Upon the death of Mr. Medley, in 1799, Mr. Robert Davies* was appointed his successor. A division among the members was the result. Mr. Davies' ministry in Byrom Street terminated about 1811, by his resignation. The church then called Mr. Moses Fisher, who, I perceive, by the Baptist Annual Register, for 1802, p. 1148, had been ordained at New Brentford, November 18, 1802, to take the spiritual oversight of them. Than Mr. Fisher, a more meek, amiable, Christian-like man, I have scarcely ever known. His connexion with his Byrom Street flock was brought to an end in 1824, subsequently to which he successively ministered to parties worshipping in Oil Street, Cockspur Street, and Soho Street† Chapels. Death closed his earthly career on the 17th January, 1840. His remains were deposited in the Necropolis, where, I recollect having heard him deliver an address, over the body of Miss Martha Hope, on occasion of the place being opened as a Cemetery, in January, 1825.‡ Mr. Samuel Saunders, from Frome, where he had officiated about nineteen years, after a considerable interval had elapsed, took Mr. Fisher's place at Byrom Street.§ The superior abilities and high attainments of Mr. Saunders, are well known, and were evinced in a volume of eloquent and powerfully-written discourses, on the Lord's Prayer, and in "Lectures on Non-Conformity," which he published during his settlement in Liverpool. Like that of his brother, the Rev. Isaac Saunders, rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, London, the death of Mr. Saunders, of Liverpool, was sudden. He de-

* Called Richard Davis, or Davies, in the Liverpool Directories of 1800, 1803, and 1804. Who is the Rev. David Davies set down in the Street portion of the Directory of 1806?

† In the same building, situated nearly opposite Queen Anne Street, the foundation stone of which, as the "Cathedral of the Primitive Episcopal Church," (see "Primitive Episcopal Magazine," May, 1822, pp. 90-97,) had been laid by Bishop West.

‡ On the occasion referred to, and before Mr. Fisher spoke, Dr. Raffles, I remember, formally opened the Cemetery, by the delivering of an inaugural discourse. Considerable interest was excited by what the Doctor said respecting the Cimetière du Pere la Chaise, in Paris, and other burial places of a similar description.

§ In 1826, I think.

parted this life, May 19th, 1835, and was interred in the cemetery, Low-hill. (Necropolis.)* His incumbency here had extended to a period of about nine years.

After the lapse of a short interval, Mr. C. M. Birrell, at one time resident in St. Petersburg, Russia, was appointed to occupy the pulpit, left vacant by the death of Mr. Saunders. This took place in 1835, or 1836. Byrom Street Chapel, however, was not destined long to enjoy the benefit of Mr. Birrell's ministrations. The question respecting "close" or "open communion,"—frequently stirred among persons of the Baptist persuasion, but brought to something like a height in the early part of this century, by the well-known controversy between Mr. Kinghorn, on the one side, and the celebrated Robert Hall, on the other,†—had made its way among the members and congregation over which Mr. Birrell presided. Free or open communion sentiments were favoured by the pastor. To him, several, perhaps even a majority of the most influential members adhered. But their views were obnoxious to the greater part of the Trustees, as well as to many individuals highly respected on the score of age, and of long connexion with the Baptist body. A friendly separation of the two parties, therefore, was the result. The exceedingly neat chapel, with a Grecian portico, fronting the top of Pembroke Place, and situated at the bottom of West Derby and the corner of Crown Streets, having been erected by Mr. Birrell's friends and supporters in 1839, they removed to, and entered on the occupancy of it, either that year, or early in the following one.

Mr. James H. Thomas appears to have taken the pastoral charge of the Byrom Street church and congregation, after Mr. Birrell's secession. His ministry commenced April 27th, 1840. He remained with his flock not longer than till January 23rd, 1842.

The last-named gentleman had as his successor, Mr. William Giles.‡

* Where the body of Dr. Stewart, of Gloucester Street and Mount Pleasant Chapels, and the bodies of many other eminent Liverpool ministers, are deposited.

† The "close communion" Baptists confine admission to the Lord's Table to those who have been immersed, on a personal profession of faith. Whereas, by their "open communion" brethren, a participation in the commemorative and eucharistic rite alluded to, is conceded to pious Paedobaptists.

‡ To be distinguished from Mr. Henry Giles, a native of Youghal, Ireland, and originally a Roman Catholic, who was minister of the Chapel, Toxteth Park, from the beginning of 1836, till 1841 or 1842. Mr. H. Giles wrote several of the discourses which were preached and published on the Unitarian side of the question, in the Controversy of 1839; and has, since resigning his charge here, been pretty extensively known as a lecturer in the United States of America.

Under his ministry, the parties assembling in Byrom Street Chapel continued, from 24th February, 1842, till 1st September, 1843. A gentleman, named Mr. John McKenzie, since deceased, is spoken of as having taken charge of the congregation, December 21, 1843. (?) The chapel was acquired by the Railway Company, above mentioned, October 2nd, 1846. In their hands, it remained for several years shut up.—To return to Mr. Giles. He became subsequently to his resignation of the pastoral office at Byrom Street, conductor of a most respectable academy at Seacombe, and a few years ago, removed thence to the city of Chester. He is, I believe, author of a well-written pamphlet, published in 1827, when he was settled in Kent, the object of which was to refute and expose "open communion"* sentiments. Perhaps, his chief claim on our notice, is the fact of his having for a considerable time directed the studies, and thereby contributed to form the mind of the celebrated Charles Dickens, author of "Sketches by Boz," "Pickwick Papers," "Nicholas Nickleby," &c. &c.

Touching the ministers of Byrom Street Chapel, since its re-purchase by Mr. Johnson, two or three years ago, I am unable to say anything.

6.—*Baptist Chapel, Hope Street;*

One of the groupe of elegant and imposing edifices, secular and religious, to which we have had occasion already, more than once, to direct the attention of the Society. It fronts Myrtle Street, looking southwards, and presents its west side to Hope Street. The style is Gothic. Elaborately, and in some respects singularly conceived and constructed it is. The origin, progress, and present state of the highly respectable congregation which worships here, we proceed briefly to state.

The appointment of Mr. Robert Davis in 1800, by the majority of the Byrom Street Church, as Mr. Medley's successor, gave rise, as we have previously hinted, to dissatisfaction, and ultimately to division, in the body. Into the merits of the dispute, which turned solely on doctrinal differences, I do not of course enter. As the result, a new church or society of Baptists, preferring a stricter adherence to the Calvinistic system of theology than their late brethren, was formed and organized.

After hearing different individuals, with a view to the settlement among them of a permanent minister, Mr. Peter Aitken, a native of Glasgow,

* "Letters to the Rev. R. Hall, A. M., containing an examination of his theory of Christian, in opposition to party communion," 8vo., pp. 66.

and trained at the University there, became at last the object of the choice of the society. This gentleman had come to England originally, in July, 1799, to supply the pulpit of a Presbyterian chapel at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the absence of its pastor: and having extended his tour to Canterbury, for the purpose of visiting relations, had there embraced the doctrine of adult or believer's baptism, and had himself been immersed, December 5th of that year. A visit to Accrington, Lancashire, where he remained preaching for sometime, and afterwards to Liverpool, followed. The newly-formed church there heard him, and was edified by his pulpit gifts, as well as became satisfied of his eminent qualifications in other respects for the work of the ministry. Having been duly invited to assume the pastoral office, he was ordained in June, 1801. Ill health immediately supervened. A voyage to Scotland was prescribed and undertaken. On his return, he resumed his public labours, September 13th. On the 20th he preached with great energy and unction, and much to the satisfaction of his hearers. Death, however, was close at hand. A succession of discharges of blood from the lungs, so affected his frame, and reduced his strength, that he sunk under them, on the evening of the 1st October, 1801. Short, but not uninteresting, or unedifying, was this, his career. His body was interred in the graveyard of Byrom Street Chapel. A most pleasing recollection of his talents, energetic and fervent mode of preaching, piety, and amiable dispositions, has been kept up by survivors.

Heu miserande puer—animam
His saltem accumulem *verbis*, et fungar inani
Munere.

Some interesting particulars respecting this excellent and promising young man—whose younger brother was my classfellow at the College of Glasgow—written by Mr. Davis, of Byrom Street, will be found recorded in the Baptist Annual Register, for 1801, pp. 689–694. In a circular to the Baptist churches, 1842, I see that he is spoken of as having been “a person of considerable learning, superior talents, and devoted piety.”

The death of Mr. Aitken opened the way, after the lapse of some time, and the hearing of several candidates, for the election of Mr. James * Lister, as pastor of the society, then assembling in Church Lane. This event took place 6th June, 1803. Mr. Lister had for his *alma mater*, the University of Glasgow, of which city he was a native. His career at college is

* He has been misnamed “John,” by Smithers.

said to have been a rather distinguished one. During the session * 1794–1795, when he attended the Greek class, he is said to have been a competitor with Thomas Campbell, afterwards the celebrated author of the “Pleasures of Hope,” for a prize, the theme having been a poetical translation from the Greek, and in this generous rivalry to have been successful. † His ministrations in Liverpool, commenced June 22nd, 1803, and his induction into the pastoral office, took place on the 11th day of October, of that year. ‡ Report says, that the attention of the Liverpool brethren was first called to Mr. Lister, in consequence of Mr. Aitken having recommended him as his successor, while lying on his death-bed. The circumstances of their having been classfellows, having been intimate, and having joined the Baptist body much about the same time, impart to the rumour extreme probability. Mr. Lister removed directly from Glasgow to Liverpool.

In the course of 1802–1803, a neat and commodious, but plain looking edifice, intended as a place of worship for the society, had been erected in Elliott Street, and Lime Street. § Not a vestige of it now remains. Improvements in the part of the town where it was situated, rendered its demolition indispensable. For the information of the curious in such matters, it may be mentioned, that it stood in Elliott Street, at the corner of Rose Street; and that its site is occupied, partly by the side-path, and partly by the houses of Elliott Street, at the bend or turning which they form, in rounding off from Rose Street towards Lime Street, and the New Haymarket. Lime Street Chapel, as it was commonly called, was opened on the 9th day of October, 1803, two days prior to Mr. Lister's induction.

The ministry of Mr. Lister was long, quiet, and harmonious. He discharged his pastoral duties conscientiously and unobtrusively. Whatever might be the reason to which his backwardness was owing, he was shy of appearing before

* Semestre.

† Mr. Lister was originally connected with the Established Church of Scotland, with a view to the ministry in which he was educated. It was while prosecuting his academic studies, that he became a convert to the doctrine of adult baptism.

‡ His induction is spoken of as ordination in the Church Records. It may have been so. But, in that case, he was twice the subject of the imposition of hands; for, in the “Baptist Annual Register,” for 1801, pp. 677–678, I find a letter from Mr. Lister himself, dated “Glasgow, November 18th, 1801,” in which he gives an account of his ordination there, by Mr. James Taylor, of Paisley, a few days previously. Perhaps the rite, as then administered, was considered informal. By the way, Mr. Taylor survived Mr. Lister, having died at Glasgow in the early part of the summer of 1852, at a very advanced age.

§ From the pulpit of this chapel, I have had the honour of addressing Mr. Lister's congregation.

the public in the character of an author. Except a few occasional articles in periodicals belonging to the Baptist communion, "a sermon delivered at Rochdale, May 3rd, 1818, at a meeting of the Association of the Baptist Churches of Yorkshire and Lancashire," and "The excellence of the authorized version of the Sacred Scriptures defended against the Socinians; a sermon delivered at the monthly lecture, in Gloucester Street Chapel, Liverpool, on Wednesday evening, October 18th, 1820," I am not aware of the existence of any published productions of his pen. He removed, with his congregation, to their present beautiful and costly place of worship, in Myrtle and Hope Streets, on the 10th day of January, 1844;* resigned his situation as pastor, 5th March, 1847; officiated for some time, without any regular call, in discharging the duties of the ministry at Providence Chapel, Pleasant Street, erected by Mr. David Kent, and closed his useful, laborious, and respectable life, at Liverpool, 23rd November, 1851, when on the verge of completing the 73rd year of his age.† Sermons were preached in several of the dissenting places of worship on occasion of his death. Considering not merely his abilities and attainments, but his studious and industrious habits, we cannot help feeling regret that he has left behind him so little, in the shape of literary or theological compositions, to benefit posterity.

During a portion of Mr. Lister's ministry, from about 26 or 28, to 18 years ago especially, he received assistance in his Sunday evening services from two worthy men, whose names deserve to be had in remembrance. I allude to Mr. William Rushton, jun., and Mr. Edward Cearns, jun., both

* Soon after which, the former meeting-house in Lime and Elliott Streets, was taken down. A description of the present chapel will be found in Lacey's "Pictorial Liverpool," 1844, pp. 268-269. By the way, I have just learned, on the authority of the gentleman himself, that what, in consequence of no author's name being on the title-page, I have hitherto, with reference to the name of the publisher, quoted as "Lacey," is the production of our talented colleague, Mr. James Stonehouse. If I still continue to quote it as Lacey's, it is only for the purpose of preserving uniformity. Mr. Stonehouse has also kindly acquainted me with the extent of the obligations under which he lies to the MSS. of the late Mr. John Green Underhill. They are no doubt considerable. As respects the Baptist churches, dissenting bodies, and some other matters, the information which they contain is most valuable. But on a multitude of the topics to which Mr. Stonehouse has had occasion to advert, they do not touch at all. And so completely has Mr. Stonehouse been obliged to alter, modify, and recast Mr. Underhill's language, in order to adapt it to his purposes, that but rarely has the former used the phraseology of the latter, in his "Pictorial Liverpool." Mr. Stonehouse, however, has no wish to detract from the merit of Mr. Underhill's papers, which, in many cases where accuracy of information concerning Liverpool, Lancashire and Cheshire matters is concerned, deserve, and will require, minute and careful examination.

† Born at Glasgow, 2nd January, 1779. He was interred at the Necropolis.

well-known to me, and both able and effective public speakers. The former gentleman, who was a cotton broker by profession, was author of a clever volume of "Letters on Particular Redemption," which was translated into the Welsh language, and had a very extensive circulation in the Principality;* and the latter was the active and energetic (let me add, successful,) partner, for many years, of the eminent and much respected firm of Cearn and Crary,† American merchants. Both were removed from this world several years ago, in middle life, with rapidly maturing experience, and while engaged in the pursuits of honourable industry, to the deep regret of numerous and admiring friends.

As successor to Mr. Lister, in the pastorate, on his resignation in 1847, the church or society assembling in Myrtle and Hope Streets, elected Mr. Hugh Stowell Brown, a native of the Isle of Man, son of the late Vicar of Kirk-Braddan, and related, not very remotely either, to the late venerable and amiable man, the Rev. Hugh Stowell, Rector of Ballaugh, and author of the "Life of Bishop Wilson;" whose son, the Rev. Canon Stowell, of Manchester, holds so high and distinguished a place among the clergymen of this district. Mr. Brown abandoned the established Church to join the Baptist body, several years since. His ministrations have now extended to a period of above five years, and, besides procuring for him the increasing respect and confidence of his flock, have already, by the energy and ability which he has displayed, attracted no small share of public notice, as well as inspired the hope of great future usefulness and eminence. But a sense of delicacy forbids my enlarging in the praises of a living and youthful contemporary, who has lately been enrolled among the number of our colleagues.‡

7.—*Roman Catholic Chapel of St. Mary's.*

Exactly on the spot, between Edmund and Ormond Streets, off Old Hall Street, on which the present large and imposing structure is erected,

* Father of William Rushton, A.M., whose career at the Royal Institution School, Liverpool, University College, London, and at the University of Bonn, Germany, has been a very distinguished one, and who is already favourably known to the public as one of the two authors of a "Latin terminational Dictionary." London: January, 1850. To Mr. Rushton we are indebted for having lately placed himself in communication with our Society.

† Originally Cearn, Fish and Crary. Mr. Fish, a most respectable gentleman, rejoiced in the somewhat singular combination of names, Preserved Fish.

‡ Mr. Brown is not unknown as an author and public lecturer. Six lectures delivered by him lately on the "Puritans," and "Puritanic period," attracted considerable attention, and were listened to by large and respectable audiences.

stood a chapel, said to have been of ancient date, which was destroyed by fire, in 1745.* It was succeeded by a brick edifice, somewhat mean in its external appearance, but capable of accommodating a great number of worshippers. Concerning this, Mr. Herdman thus expresses himself:—"A second was built. This chapel was altogether surrounded by buildings—chiefly houses—and was only approachable by three gateways under these houses, namely, by one in Edmund Street, by one in Ormond Street, and by one in Bixteth Street. Views of these gateways will either accompany this or be sent to you. The second chapel was constructed, and had its entrance guarded, in the way mentioned, in order to prevent access on the part of those who were opposed to the Roman Catholic religion." I remember well this second chapel, and the gateway in Edmund Street, by which I entered it. A few years ago, this was removed, in order to make way for the present edifice. The style of this is Gothic. Large, handsome, and elegant, are epithets which every one will be disposed to apply to it. Its roof is lofty.—Three distinct ecclesiastical buildings, it will be observed from what goes before, have thus, in succession, occupied the same site.

One cannot but regret, that a structure so deserving to be looked at, as St. Mary's, should, from its location, be almost entirely huddled out of sight. It is somewhat difficult to be found out: and when discovered, its northern and southern sides can only be approached from different Streets—a considerable *detour* requiring to be made, when going from the one to the other.

St. Mary's may fairly be regarded as the mother-church of the Roman Catholics in Liverpool; at all events, since the period of the Reformation.

The Rev. Thomas Fisher, a gentleman known and highly respected for his many excellent qualities, especially for his benevolence, charity, and the assiduity and untiring energy with which he prosecuted his ecclesiastical labours, was for a very long period the presiding clergyman of the chapel.

* See Lacey's "Pictorial Liverpool," 1844, p. 270. Mr. Herdman's version of the matter is different. In a communication politely forwarded by him to me, he says:—"With respect to the Roman Catholic Chapel of St. Mary's, I find that in 1745, a warehouse in Edmund Street was used by the body as a place of worship—this having been the first Roman Catholic Chapel in Liverpool. It was situated up a gateway, over which was the priest's house. This building was destroyed during the riots in 1759." Query 1779?

I find it mentioned in some of our local histories, that, by the constitution of St. Mary's, its religious affairs are administered by regulars, its clergy being monks of the order of St. Benedict.* Mr. Herdman says, that the first and second chapels were the property of the Jesuits, and that the latter continued in their possession until the suppression of the order, by Pope Clement XIV., Ganganelli, in 1773.

8.—*St. Anthony's, Roman Catholic.*

A building, bearing the above appellation, stood formerly at St. Anthony's Place, Mile End, Scotland Road. See Liverpool Directories for 1807 and 1810. Divine service in it was conducted for many years by the Rev. Jean Baptiste Anthony Girardot, a French emigrant priest, by whom it was erected. M. Girardot was held in high respect for his many virtues, and unostentatious mode of living; and besides, was much celebrated in this part of the country, for numerous cures performed by him in cases of dropsy, some of them said to have been of long standing. He departed this life, between twenty and thirty years ago. The chapel, if I mistake not, continued to the close of his life to be M. Girardot's private property.

Subsequently to this gentleman's death, the chapel was still applied to the purposes of divine service for a time, by the Roman Catholics. But having been abandoned as a place of worship, it is now converted into dwelling-houses and shops, catching the eye of the passenger by its small pediment, at the corner of Scotland Road and Dryden Street.

Owing to the great increase of the Roman Catholic population of Liverpool, particularly in the northern districts of the town, a larger edifice than that of M. Girardot, was found to be needed for their accommodation. Accordingly, subscriptions having been procured, the present St. Anthony's situated also in Scotland Road, a little way to the north of the former, was erected in 1833. It was opened towards the end of September, of that year, with great pomp and imposing ceremonies. A very interesting account was given on that occasion, by one of the clergymen present, of the building of the previous St. Anthony's, of Monsieur Girardot, its respected founder and chaplain, and of the circumstances in which the

* In Moss' "History of Liverpool," 1795, p. 154, and in the earlier Liverpool Directories, St. Mary's Chapel is uniformly spoken of as the Roman Catholic Chapel, "Lumber Street," or "Lombard Street." This last-named Street lies close to it,—much encroached on by the embankment of the Railway,—to the East.

edifice then entered into had originated.* M. Girardot's body had been the only one deposited in the old chapel. On occasion of its being relinquished for the newly-erected structure, a removal of that gentleman's remains, if I am not misinformed, to the large and commodious vaults under the latter, took place. In the present St. Anthony's, about 1838, or 1839, I heard the late celebrated Father Thomas Maguire, the controversial antagonist of Messrs. Pope and Gregg, deliver a very clever lecture in defence of the Roman Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation, to a large and attentive auditory.

9.—*Salem Chapel, otherwise St. Clement's, Russell Street,*

Situated two houses from Bronte Street, (continuation of Dansie Street,) and nearly opposite to Warren Street, is one of the neatest places of worship in Liverpool.

To say by what sect of religionists this chapel has not, at some time or other, been occupied, would be somewhat puzzling, in consequence of the numerous metamorphoses which the worshippers at it have undergone. The best way of doing, under such circumstances, is briefly to sketch its history.

Unpleasant disclosures having terminated, in 1808, in the removal of Mr. John Ralph, from the pastorate of the Independent church, or society, assembling in Bethesda Chapel, Hotham Street, (then Duncan Street East,) his friends and supporters satisfied of his penitence, and considering him to have been harshly treated, built and opened Salem Chapel, Russell Street, the edifice in question.† He then took the pastoral charge, and continued to officiate to his followers for a brief period of time. Circumstances, to which a particular reference is unnecessary, led to a termination of his Liverpool career. He removed to Wigan, about 1811, became minister of Hope Chapel, there, and died in 1821. His pulpit talents, I have been informed, were of a very superior order. His dispositions it is said were amiable, and his sentiments, strictly Calvinistic. We must be careful not to confound this gentleman, with Hugh Ralph, LL.D., who was from 1824 till 1842, minister of Oldham Street Kirk, and who now, after having been for some years incumbent at Aberdour, has charge of the parish of Dalgety, in the County of Fife.

Considerable alterations of Salem Chapel followed, on the departure of

* See "Liverpool Mercury," 6th October, 1833.

† About 1809.

Mr. Ralph.* Its very name was changed. Thenceforward it was for years known as St. Clement's Church.† Under the ministry of Mr. Thomas Pearson, who is called "Robert" in Lacey's "Pictorial Liverpool," by whom it was purchased, there was also an increase of the ceremonial observed in the conducting of public worship. Mr. Pearson, who had once been an auctioneer in good practice in Liverpool, had previously to his removal to Russell Street, officiated from the month of May, 1807, in the chapel, Cockspur Street, which, in his hands, acquired the denomination of St. Andrew's Church.‡ He presided over the worship of the congregation in Russell Street, from 1812, till 1816 or 1817, when, according to Lacey, he died.§ The Rev. H. T. Turner, however, has been good enough to inform me, that he left Liverpool to settle in Preston; and that many years afterwards he finished his earthly career in Cornwall. A daughter of his communicated these facts to Mr. Turner.

Almost immediately after the death or departure of Mr. Pearson, there took place in connexion with this chapel in Russell Street, what, by one of the authorities just referred to,|| is pronounced to have been "a series of the most artful schemes of swindling on record in Liverpool." Preferring to give the language of the apparently well-informed writer of the "Pictorial Liverpool" to any statements of my own, I quote literally as follows: "A person of genteel address, calling himself the Rev. Thomas Stretton, A.M., entered into a treaty with the owners" (of "Salem," *alias* St. Clement's,) "bought the church, and had it decorated in a most elegant style: the fine painted window, the neat porticos at the doors, and the organ, were added by him; the pews were lined throughout, two vestries built, and a variety of other embellishments" [introduced.] "These improvements the reverend gentleman did not immediately pay for; and still farther, he never intended to pay for them. Attended by his lady, he visited the principal shops in town, ordered articles, and had them sent to his home: but still the cash was not forthcoming. No doubt, however, could be entertained

* By some parties, I have been informed, that on Mr. Ralph's resignation, Mr. Macpherson, afterwards to be more particularly mentioned, preached for some time to the society of Independents which assembled here.

† In the Liverpool Directories for 1813 and 1816, it is enumerated among the churches belonging to the Establishment.

‡ See facts connected with the opening of Cockspur Street Chapel, as St. Andrew's Church, by Mr. Pearson, given in detail by Troughton, in his History, 1810.

§ "Pictorial Liverpool," 1844, p. 270.

|| Lacey.

by the credulous tradesmen, as to their sable-dressed customer being *bond fide* a parson; for each successive Sabbath, the Rev. Thomas Stretton, arrayed in a fine black gown, and with the gravity of a judge, discoursed, in impressive strains, to his numerous auditors at St. Clement's. Things went on in this manner for some time—the priest and his lady still indulging themselves extravagantly in jewels, dresses, &c., partly paying, but leaving by far the greater part unpaid for. But a dire and unforeseen mischance stayed the career of the worthy clergyman. Walking down Church Street, one day, he was met by a young lady, who happened to know more about him than he could wish to be made public; and concluding a discovery inevitable, he suddenly quitted the town, leaving his debts as a memento of his career.* “Pictorial Liverpool,” 1844, pp. 271–272. Thus it appears, that there are good and substantial reasons, why the name of the successor of Mr. Pearson, should still live in the recollection of some of the older inhabitants of the town, and why the feelings associated by them with St. Clement's should not be of the most agreeable description. By the way, the editor of Lacey's work omits to mention that Mr. Stretton, during his incumbency, introduced the choral, or rather cathedral service of the Establishment into his church—ten or twelve persons attired in the full costume of choristers, who were in attendance each Lord's day, to chaunt the psalms and responses, having constituted no small addition to the other attractions of this person's ministry. One gentleman has informed me, that his gown or train was, when he entered, held up by pages. He is said to have been in reality a dancing master.

A very amiable and highly respected young gentleman, named Crookenden, has been mentioned to me as having for a short time afterwards, about 1818, been minister of Salem, or St. Clement's. It was stated by my informant that he was cut off by consumption. Can this have been the “Rev. William Henry Crookenden,” whom I see set down in the “Liverpool Directory,” for 1818, as curate to Mr. Banister, at All Saints? †

The removal of Mr. Crookenden was followed by the passing of St. Clement's Church into the hands of the body connected with the late

* I have heard the “memento” estimated at £2500, or £2600.

† Mr. Turner (Rev. H. T.) thinks, that Mr. Crookenden did officiate in Salem, about 1818 or 1819. Although for some time assistant to Mr. Banister, Mr. Turner doubts if Mr. C. was ever ordained. A somewhat different account of matters will be found in next article.

Countess of Huntingdon. Mr. James Widdows, one of that body, was appointed minister in 1619 or 1820. This gentleman, along with his congregation, at a subsequent period, joined the Independents. Until about 1828, he continued to officiate in Russell Street, in a manner very creditable to himself, and acceptable to his people. His settlement at the chapel, Gloucester Street, which stood on the site of the present St. Simon's, after the opening of the United Secession Chapel, Great Orford Street and Mount Pleasant, of course rendered the pulpit formerly occupied by him vacant. *

A respectable congregation of Baptists, in 1828, or 1829, took temporary possession of Salem Chapel. Their occupancy of it did not embrace a period of more than between three and four years. Concerning the history of the building, while in their possession, I must plead ignorance. The only fact remembered by me is, that while occupied by them, I once, by special request, appeared in its pulpit.

At page 66, of the "Primitive Episcopal Church Magazine" for April, 1832, occurs the following paragraph:—"CONSECRATION OF ST. CLEMENT'S CHURCH, RUSSELL STREET, LIVERPOOL. On Friday, 30th ultimo," March, "this ceremony was performed by the Right Rev. G. M. West. At eleven o'clock, the bishop, attended by several clergymen, performed the service in a most impressive and solemn manner. The prayers were read by the Rev.———, after which an appropriate sermon was preached by the bishop, from Psalm lxxiv., 4: '*Blessed are they that dwell in thy house; they will be still praising thee*'—during which the audience were deeply affected, even to tears." A gentleman, the account goes on to say, was on this occasion admitted by Bishop West to Deacon's, and subsequently to Priest's orders.

Dr. Washington Stuart, one of the parties who had previously been ordained by Mr. West, became minister of the chapel, [church?] after its consecration, and continued to perform divine service there for some months, using, I presume, the altered liturgy of the "Primitive Episcopal Church."†

Towards the close of 1832, the edifice of which we are now speaking, came

* Mr. Widdows, who was much respected, became afterwards—about 1838—pastor of an Independent Church, at Rainford.

† *Vid. antea*, under the head of "All Saints" Church.

into the hands of a body of Scotch dissenters, belonging to the then United Secession Church. The individuals composing it had for some time before assembled for devotional purposes in the large room in Pilgrim Street, near Hardman Street.* They had left the ministry of Dr. Stewart, at Mount Pleasant Chapel, on the ground of objecting to the use of Watts' Psalms, Hymns, and Paraphrases in public worship. Mr. Samuel Spence became their pastor. His clever "sermon on the privilege and duty of British dissenters, preached in Russell Street Church, Friday, December 6, 1833,—Liverpool, Marples and Co., 1834," is now lying before me. On the departure of Mr. Spence to Dundee, in 1838, the Liverpool Society over which he had presided for several years, was dissolved.†

Antaeus-like, after scarcely an interval of suspended animation, Russell Street Chapel again rose with fresh vigour from the ground. Another sect, however, was now its occupant. Divine service was resumed in it in October, 1838, by the followers of Baron Swedenborg, commonly known as the New Jerusalem Church. Mr. Noble, of London, and Mr. Smithson, of Manchester, officiated at the opening. Under the successive ministries of Mr. Thomas Chalklin, and Mr. John Cull, as well as by means of the assistance of missionaries belonging to the denomination, the doctrines of the body just mentioned have been proclaimed in this place until very recently. Pecuniary difficulties, however, arising out of the attendance of a very limited congregation, and other causes, have caused the chapel to be for some time in the market for sale. At length, in the autumn of 1852, after an occupation by the followers of Swedenborg, of 14 years' continuance, the building has passed into the possession of the Association, or Warrenite Methodists.‡

* Used as a Lecture Room, (there I heard Dr. Spurzheim deliver his twelve lectures on Phrenology, in 1829,) as a Dancing Academy, and now as a Jewish Synagogue.

† It struggled for existence, I believe for a year or two after Mr. Spence left it. But its efforts to sustain itself were unsuccessful. The majority of its members were reunited to their old connexion. Sadly unpleasant feelings between it and the Mount Pleasant congregation marked its brief career.

‡ It seems that Baron Swedenborg's followers took Key Street Chapel, afterwards St. Matthew's Church, in 1791, on occasion of Mr. Yates and his Congregation quitting it for Paradise Street Chapel. By the Swedenborgians, Key Street Chapel was given up in 1794, or early in 1795, almost immediately after which its sale to the Church of England ensued. From 1794 or 1795, until 1815, the members of the New Jerusalem Church worshipped, either in private houses, or in a room in Marble Street near Queen Square, the latter, for thirteen or fourteen years of the period in question, having been their place of meeting. By the way, the body of Swedenborgians who worshipped until lately in Russell Street, is now assembling for devotional purposes in the Concert Hall, Lord Nelson Street, and having acquired a vacant piece of ground in Bedford Street,

10.—*Cockspur Street Chapel, for some time St. Andrew's Church.**

I regret exceedingly that it is out of my power to treat of this building, and of its numerous changes of appearance and congregations, until the period of its final extinction, with the same minuteness and accuracy of detail, as circumstances have enabled me to indulge in with regard to that which immediately precedes. The following, upon the whole copious enough, is all the information which I can give respecting Cockspur Street Chapel, and its chameleon-like transformations.

Any one desirous to make himself personally acquainted with its locality, will find it on the right hand side of Cockspur Street, going from Vauxhall Road to Pownall Square. A single house, indeed, is all that intervenes between its former site and Vauxhall Road. Strangers will at once recognize it, by means of the words, "Chapel Buildings, 1830," cut in stone, above the entrance to a small court; the shops on each side, with the houses above, and the court behind, occupying the spot where the edifice in question once stood.†

Originally here was the cockpit of Liverpool.‡ At what period it was constructed, I am unable to say. Neither can I inform my colleagues when it was first used as a place of worship, or by what sect of professing Christians it was first occupied.

What I have ascertained is, that in this edifice—whether then converted into a chapel, or still applied to sporting purposes, I cannot tell—during a few weeks of the summer of 1792, the congregation connected with the established Church of Scotland, at that time recently formed, which was afterwards permanently located in Oldham Street Kirk, worshipped under the ministry of Mr. Kirkpatrick.§ Finding the distance from the centre of the town too great, and encountering some other inconveniences, they

Abercromby Square, it is intended by the members to erect a new Chapel as soon as possible thereon.

* A name given many years afterwards by the late Sir John Gladstone to his church in Renshaw Street, and applied also by some Scotch people to the Rodney Street Kirk.

† See Gage's map, 1835.

‡ An anecdote related concerning one of the well known frequenters of the Liverpool Cockpit, while it existed, may amuse some of my readers. While young Spencer was at the height of his popularity and usefulness at Newington Chapel, in 1810–11, Dr. — was asked what he thought of him? "The best cock that the Liverpool Dissenters have ever yet pitted against the Devil, I fancy," was his prompt, but somewhat profane reply.—The Cockpit, on the margin of Aintree Race-course, now a temporary chapel-of-ease to the parishes of Sefton and Walton, is called *St. Peter's*.

§ Probably the reason why Cockspur Street Chapel was subsequently for a time called *St. Andrews*. *St. Andrew* is the patron Saint of Scotland.

speedily abandoned it, to occupy a room in School Lane, close to St. Peter's Church, where they remained till the opening of the Kirk, in 1793.*

Whether the building thus left vacant by the departure of the Scottish Presbyterians came immediately into the possession of any other class of religionists, is a matter as to which I must confess myself ignorant. No satisfactory response have I been able to obtain to numerous queries propounded by me at different times, and to different individuals. I suspect that some one or other of the various sub-divisions of Methodists, did occasionally hold meetings for public worship there. The Directories of 1790-1800, however, which are entirely silent as to the building, afford us no clue to a solution.

Light first breaks in upon us, soon after the commencement of the present century.

Mr. James Macpherson, with a congregation of Independents, to whom he stood in the relation of pastor, had possession of Cockspur Street Chapel, in 1803, as appears from the Liverpool Directory of that date, and as is known to me on other authority. My impression is, that Mr. Macpherson was officiating in this building, a year or two earlier than the time just indicated, if not even as far back as the close of 1800. Here the minister, and such of his flock as still adhered to him, continued to meet for divine service till towards the end of 1806, or beginning of 1807. The gentleman of whom we are speaking, has been represented to me as having possessed considerable talents, and is well-known to have been at one time exceedingly popular, among persons holding strict, or as some would say, high Calvinistic sentiments. His name will occur again in connexion with the formation of the church which afterwards assembled for public worship in Bethesda Chapel.

Troughton, by means of information supplied in his "History of Liverpool," 1810, p. 485, enables us to carry on the narrative, from the period of Mr. Macpherson's departure. According to the authority just named, we learn that Cockspur Street Chapel, then assuming the appellation of St. Andrew's Church, was, after having been temporarily closed, re-opened for public worship, with considerable pomp and ceremony, on Trinity Sunday, May 24, 1807, "by the Rev. Thomas † Pearson," its minister. Of this gentleman, we have had occasion to speak in the immediately preceding

* See Vol. ii. of our Transactions, p. 70. † Called Robert in Lacey.

article. Whether or not he was a regularly ordained clergyman of the Church of England, I am incompetent to say—I rather think not *—but by him, at any rate, the robes of a clergyman were worn, the liturgy read, and the prescribed routine duly gone through. Mr. Pearson's removal to St. Clement's, (Salem Chapel, Russell Street,) about 1811, or 1812, his resignation of his charge there, 1816, and his subsequent wanderings and death, will be found to have been previously put upon record. Before passing on, however, it may be proper to mention, that owing to Mr. Pearson's popularity, Cockspur Street Chapel (*alias* St. Andrew's Church,) having proved to be too small, and exceedingly inconvenient, was closed soon after the commencement of his incumbency in 1807, in order to its undergoing enlargement, as well as repairs. Divine service was not resumed until the 24th day of April, 1808.

To Mr. R. G. Sheldon, I am indebted for the information that from 1811, or 1812, till 1816, or at least during the greater part of that time, Cockspur Street Chapel was occupied by a body of Kilhamites, or New Connexion Methodists.

Subsequently, that is, in 1815, the building came into the hands of the Swedenborgians. Mr. Samuel Walter, nephew of Mr. Lewin, assisted from time to time by Mr. Leadbetter, officiated two or three years as their pastor. Their occupation of the chapel terminated in 1819.† Prior to

* He at all events, was included under that comprehensive category, "persons in holy orders or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders," so often occurring in Acts of Parliament.

† After leaving Cockspur Street the followers of Baron Swedenborg entered on an occupancy of Maguire Street Chapel, which terminated in 1823, the Primitive Methodists, during the latter part of that time having worshipped in the Chapel, early in the morning, and in the evening.

The migrations and temporary locations of the New Jerusalem body from 1823 till 1838, I am unable to state with accuracy. If I mistake not, a portion of them worshipped, during a part of that time, in a small chapel, or school-house, in Bevington Bush, not far from its junction with Old Scotland Road and Edgar Street. Private houses or school-rooms, I presume, accommodated the rest. Russell Street Chapel, (successively Salem and St. Clement's Church,) was, as we have seen, their chief, but not exclusive place of rendezvous, from 1838 till 1852. Mr. Sheldon, I have reason to think, all along during that time performed the offices of religion, to a small portion of the body, who had their residence in the Northern districts of the town.

Mr. Sheldon, to his other favours, has added that of informing me, that the friends to whom he has so long officiated, in February, 1842, opened as a place of worship for "The New Christian Church," or Swedenborgians, a small building in Rose Place, not far from St. Ann's Church, which for many years had been used as a boarding and day-school, and which, in 1841, had been converted into a Temperance Hall, Divine Service having, at the same time, been begun, and for several Lord's days continued, by local preachers of the Methodist persuasion. They, of course, abandoned it, when it came

that time, Mr. Walters' ministry had been discontinued. A gentleman named Bristow, previously a Unitarian minister, and who, after professing to be a convert to the New Jerusalem doctrines, subsequently joined the Trinitarians, gave the Swedenborgians the benefit of his pulpit services, during three months of the year 1819.

The Mr. Crookenden, spoken of under the preceding head, who had for some time been curate, or assistant, to Mr. Banister, after the abandonment of Cockspur Street Chapel by the New Jerusalemites in 1819, immediately took possession of it, along with a small body of persons, who, with himself, had withdrawn from Mr. Banister's ministry, on Independent principles, and had placed themselves under his, Mr. Crookenden's, pastoral care. For the knowledge of this fact, I confess myself indebted to Mr. Sheldon. My informant, however, cannot be certain, whether or not Mr. Crookenden was for a short time in Russell Street Chapel. Nor is he quite sure as to the time when the brief ministry of the gentleman to whom we are referring was terminated by his death. He thinks that the event took place in 1821, or 1822. My suspicion is, that it occurred towards the end of 1820, or early in 1821, as I do not find his name in the chapel part of the Directory of the year last named; and as the chapel, Cockspur Street, although placed in the list of Independent chapels by that Directory, has a blank opposite to the word "minister."

Mr. John Underhill, and a congregation of Baptists, who adhered to him as their pastor, having left the Baptist chapel, on the south side of Great Crosshall Street, is said to have entered upon the occupancy of Cockspur Street Chapel, in 1821, or 1822. As the father of Mr. John Green Underhill, a youth of great promise, early removed by death, whose industry and accuracy in compiling facts respecting the religious bodies of Liverpool are deserving of all praise, and have been of service to the editor of Lacey,*

into the possession of the New Jerusalemites. Over these, Mr. Sheldon continued to preside. During the week, however, it was still used as a school house, and for other purposes.

This building, after having been for a time closed, made to undergo thorough repairs, and fitted with seats and pews, was re-opened exclusively as a place of worship, to be used by the Swedenborgian body, by Messrs. Kenworthy and Sheldon, January 28th, 1849. Mr. Sheldon is pastor, and continues to officiate as he has done all along, gratuitously. The Chapel is neat and comfortable, but so small as to be incapable of accommodating more than 100 persons. Mr. Sheldon and his flock are in full and recognised connexion with the general conference of the New Jerusalem Church.

* Acknowledged by Mr. Stonehouse, in his preface to Lacey's "Pictorial Liverpool," 1844. By mistake he calls the party in question Underwood.

as well as on account of his own great excellence of character, Mr. Underhill is not undeserving of notice at our hands. He is, (for he still lives at a very advanced age,) a native of the neighbourhood of Birmingham, and came to Liverpool about the year 1818. From Cockspur Street Chapel, he went with his flock, about 1824, to the small Baptist Chapel, Sidney Place, Edgehill, where he officiated for several years. It was on September 4th, in the year 1831, while still officiating at Edgehill, that he published his sermon, entitled, "The good man, and the evil considered," preached at the chapel, Sidney Place. Advancing age having compelled his resignation of the pastoral office, he continued to reside in London Road, Liverpool, until 1852, when he removed to Manchester.

For a short time—perhaps for a year, year and a half, or two years—subsequently to the departure of Mr. Underhill and his congregation about 1824, Cockspur Street Chapel was in the occupation of the Primitive Methodists. This fact we learn from a short and well-written history of Liverpool, which is prefixed to a Directory of the town, apparently not Gore's, published in 1825.*

About 1826, or 1827, Mr. Moses Fisher, who with his flock, had been located in Oil Street, after his demission of his charge in Byrom Street, 1824, removed to Cockspur Street Chapel. His ministry there extended to 1835, when he entered upon possession of Soho Street Chapel, which, on the foundation stone of *Bishop* West's intended cathedral, had been erected for him.†

Again, a change in the occupants of Cockspur Street Chapel took place. The "Christian Society," a species of Methodists, became its temporary possessors. Mr. Newcome is mentioned in one of the Liverpool Directories, that for 1837, as having for a time, at least, taken the pastoral over-

* "The chapel in Cockspur Street is now occupied by Primitive Methodists, who have the use, on Sunday evenings, of the chapel belonging to the Swedenborgians, in Maguire Street." History of Liverpool, prefixed to the Directory, 1825, p. 171. The Swedenborgians, who did for some time grant to the Primitive Methodists the use of their chapel in Maguire Street, for early morning, and for evening service, abandoned the chapel to them altogether in 1823. This fact, known to me on good authority, renders somewhat problematical the account of Mr. Underhill having ever discharged the duties of a pastor in Cockspur Street Chapel, and impresses me with a suspicion that the Primitive Methodists immediately succeeded Mr. Crookenden and his party. I may be wrong, however. Mr. Underhill, I remember going to Sidney Place Chapel, Edgehill, in 1824.

† Having closed his earthly career in January, 1840, Mr. Fisher has had for two of his successors in Soho Street, Mr. Richard B. Lancaster, from 1840 till 1849, and Mr. R. J. Stent, for perhaps a couple of years afterwards.

sight of the congregation which assembled there. Of the "Christian Society," it will be recollected, that we have already had occasion to treat, under the head of St. John the Evangelist's Church. During their stay here, Messrs. Aitken and Bowes frequently preached to them. Circumstances, however, compelled its relinquishment, in 1838, or 1839.

Immediately afterwards, the demolition of this chapel followed. Houses and shops, as already mentioned, now occupy its site.

11.—*Maguire Street Chapel*

Was erected about the year 1795, by a gentleman named Mayers, of Swedenborgian or New Jerusalem sentiments, with a view to the accommodation of his co-religionists, on their abandonment of Key Street Chapel, (old St. Matthew's.) It is a plain structure, of small dimensions, capable of seating not more than 250 or 300 hearers. There are houses and shops below and on each side of it, which have constituted from the first a portion of the building. The bankruptcy of Mr. Mayers—who lived close to the canal, in the immediate neighbourhood—just as the chapel was being completed, and the sale of it, along with his other property, by his creditors, prevented its being used, at least at the time, for the purpose originally contemplated.

A body of Methodists, who afterwards joined Mr. Alexander Kilham, on occasion of his seceding from the Wesleyan Conference, in 1797, and co-operated with him in forming the "New Connexion," * sometime in the course of the preceding year, took possession of the chapel. Their occupancy of it seems to have continued till the year 1800.

Mr. Macpherson, and his newly-organized society of Independents, are said to have then used it as a place of worship, for a year or two.

Between 1802 and 1817, I am unable to specify, in exact order of succession, the various religious sects which occupied Maguire Street Chapel. Information, however, upon which I think I may rely, has satisfied me, that during the interval mentioned, it was at different times, and for different periods, employed for devotional purposes, by Welsh Arminian Methodists, Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, and Welsh Baptists.

In 1817, it came into the hands of a small body of Unitarians, presided over by Mr. T. S. Bristow. This gentleman having adopted, and tempo-

* Who protest against what they conceive to be the undue, because exclusive preponderance of the clerical element, in the Old Wesleyan body.

rarily professed Swedenborgian views, his small flock left the building, and became dispersed in 1819.

The Swedenborgians, quitting Cockspur Street in 1819, entered immediately on possession of Maguire Street Chapel. Missionaries from their Conference, after Mr. Bristow's defection, officiated to them.

Into the hands of the Primitive Methodists, the building came in 1823, and has been occupied by them ever since. Several months before their taking entire possession of it, the New Jerusalem folks had kindly allowed them to worship within its walls, early in the mornings, and on the evenings of the Lord's day.

12.—*Crescent or Everton Chapel. (Independent.)*

For many particulars respecting the congregation which now worships in this large and handsome edifice, I confess myself indebted to our talented colleague, Mr. W. G. Herdman.

About the year 1800, certain respectable individuals, sitting under the ministry of Mr. Banister, at All Saints,* having become dissatisfied on grounds which it is needless to specify, withdrew, and agreed to form themselves into a society or church, holding in the main Calvinistic principles, and having for its grand object mutual edification. These persons assembled for a short time in a room in Shaw's Brow, and afterwards took temporary possession of the small chapel in Maguire Street, off Vauxhall Road.

During this period, the society was under the pastoral care of Mr. James Macpherson, more than once already referred to.

The chapel in Duncan Street East, now Hotham Street, called Bethesda, situated between Bridport and Lord Nelson Streets, having been erected by subscription, the congregation entered on possession of it in 1802. So limited were their numbers and means at that time, that it was not until after the lapse of a considerable interval, they were able to put up a gallery.

Mr. Macpherson having, for some reason or other, lost the confidence of

* Mr. Herdman has obligingly supplied me with the names of some of them:—Messrs. Barton Haigh, William Merryman, Peter Robinson, Hill Wilson, and Robert Innes. May I be permitted to add to these, as having either then, or at a subsequent period, joined the church, the respected names of Messrs. James Leckie, Thomas Bagot, and John Wilkinson?

the society, Mr. John Ralph, about the period of the removal to Bethesda, was chosen to preside over it in holy things. Probably at, or about the same time, Mr. Macpherson, with his adherents, commenced the occupation of Cockspur Street Chapel.

The ministry of Mr. Ralph terminated in consequence of certain painful disclosures, in 1808—the statement previously made as to himself, and his subsequent career, superseding the necessity of any further remarks.

Immediately, or at all events not very long after the removal of Mr. Ralph, Mr. Peter Samuel Charrier, then pastor of the Independent Church at Lancaster, became the object of the choice of the Bethesda Society.

Concerning this gentleman, who was, like his predecessor, a strict Calvinist, we might, were eulogy our object, speak most favourably. He was either a native of France, or if not, was born at Portsmouth, of French Huguenot parentage. Till the close of his life, his extraction was apparent in the polished and ceremonious courtesy of his manners, his peculiarly stiff although gentlemanlike gait, and the natural irascibility of his temper. Mr. Charrier was a man endowed with excellent talents, and of the highest respectability of character. Under his ministry, the church and congregation at Bethesda flourished. After spending nearly eighteen years, quietly, unobtrusively and usefully among his people, he was carried off, rather suddenly, either in 1825, or 1826. His body was conveyed for interment to Lancaster. A large cortege of attached and sorrowing friends, some on foot, and others in carriages, accompanied it for some distance from town.*

Some time elapsed, after Mr Charrier's decease, before Mr. John Kelly, the present minister, was elected to supply his place.

The society having sold Bethesda to the body of Kilhamites, or New Connexion Methodists, who had previously occupied Zion Chapel, now the Fish Hall, near St. John's Market, removed in 1833, with their pastor, to the Crescent Chapel, Everton.

To make respectable living individuals the subjects of fulsome commendation would, I have felt, be wrong in itself, and insulting to them. A passing remark or two, therefore, with respect to the present pastor of the Independent church of which we are speaking, is all that I will venture to submit. Mr. Kelly's high standing in Liverpool dissenting society, is well

* Mr. Charrier is said to have indulged occasionally in poetical composition. One piece, of some length, published anonymously, I have heard ascribed to him.

known. George Gilfillan, in "Hogg's Edinburgh Instructor," for September 11th, 1847, when giving his reminiscences of his first tour in England, has taken occasion to place on record his high estimate, both of him, and of his respectable congregation.* Mr. Kelly, several years ago, published a clever pamphlet, of considerable length, animadverting on the connexion between Church and State, during the time that the Voluntary controversy was raging. Its title, I am just now unable to supply.

18.—*Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Pitt Street.*

This chapel occupies the site, on which stood the first one erected in Liverpool, by the highly respectable and influential body to which it belongs. Having been found to be small, inconvenient, and ill adapted to the growing wants of the community, the original structure was, forty or fifty years since, pulled down, and replaced by the larger edifice which now meets the eye. It stands between Greetham and Forrest Streets, on the right hand going from the Custom House, southwards.

In the former building, Mr. Wesley preached several times. Especial mention is made in our local histories, of his having been in Liverpool in March, 1758, when he spoke to attentive and deeply interested audiences, in Pitt Street Chapel, twice a day for a whole week. His work on "Original sin," he then advertised in the Liverpool papers. From this town, March 31st,† he sailed to Dublin.‡ How astonishing and indefatigable the

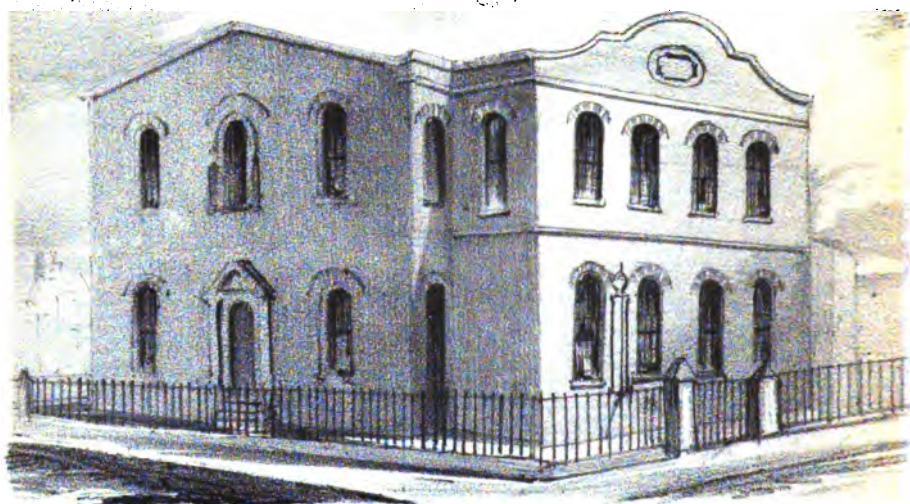
* Mr. Gilfillan's words are too remarkable, and the manner in which he expresses himself concerning both pastor and people too discriminating, to justify me in passing them over. "Very different," from that of a Church Clergyman of whom he had been speaking, "and yet excellent in its way, is the preaching of Mr. Kelly, the Independent. His is a decided specimen of the Scottish School. It is able, clear, critical, and searching, but without ease, and without imagination. Mr. K. is a robust, middle-sized, middle-aged person, preaches to a respectable but thin audience, and stands deservedly high in his body. We were struck with the intellectual aspect of his congregation. Large heads and fore-heads, brows knitted in profound attention, eyes fixed with piercing glance upon the speaker, and hands ever ready to turn up the scriptures at his quotations, gave us the assurance of a body of men, not of fashionable fribbles, or weak-minded enthusiasts. It seemed such an assembly as Hall would have wished to address; and we are morally certain that it could not have been in this chapel, where, according to his own statement, when in Liverpool, he 'preached like a pig, to a parcel of pigs.' There was much in Mr. Kelly, and in his audience, to remind us of Dr. Russell, of Dundee, though *he* is more conversational and practical in his style of preaching."

† 1758.

‡ George Whitfield, not so much the rival, as the friend and coadjutor, of Wesley, on two occasions at least honoured Liverpool with his presence and public discourses. One of his visits is particularly noticed by the Rev. John Newton, some time curate at Olney, Bucks, and afterwards Rector of St. Mary's Woolnoth, London, in letters written by him soon after his appointment as one of the two tide surveyors of the Port of Liverpool—a situation for which he was indebted to the kindness and influence of his friend

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LEEDS STREET CHAPEL



labours of this eminent man! Pitt Street chapel, besides the services of the great founder of Methodism, has enjoyed, from time to time, those of almost every person of distinction connected with the Wesleyan body. Mr., now Dr. Newton, I once heard preach in it, (in its present form,) a very eloquent, powerful, and impressive discourse. Nor can I forget the pleasure with which, some twelve or fourteen years ago, I listened to a beautiful address from the lips of James Montgomery, Esq., of Sheffield, author of the "Wanderer of Switzerland," "World before the Flood," &c., delivered at a missionary meeting, held within its walls.

Interesting must this chapel be, on a great variety of grounds, to those to whom the cause of Wesleyan Methodism is dear, and who have taken any pleasure in tracing its rise and progress in this and other large towns.

14.—*The Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Leeds Street,*

One of the older chapels in connexion with this body—opened about 1798—was situated on a portion of the space now occupied as a yard for flags, or paving stones, at the corner of Leeds and Plumbe Streets. The remainder of the space was a burial ground attached to the chapel, where

Mr. Manesty. See the fourth volume of his "Works," Aberdeen, George King; London, Whittaker, Treacher and Co., 1833, pp. 101-104. Our information is derived from his "Letters to a Wife."

The visit referred to occurred in the year 1755. During nearly a whole week, from 10th to 15th September, Mr. Whitfield preached here frequently. Mr. Newton heard him nine times. Where, however, this extraordinary man officiated, I have not been able to discover. Was it in the fields, and *sub dio*, as was so common with him, that he delivered his spirit-stirring and conscience-affecting harangues? Newton seems to have watched his every action with intense and affectionate interest, and to have spent as much time as possible in his private society. Not particularly complimentary to the religious character of the Liverpool people, is the observation which Newton represents him to have made:—"We shall try to keep him till Monday; though he says, he never was in a place where he had so little encouragement to stay as here." Philip, in his "Life and Times of Whitfield," 1837, passes over the tour of this eminent man, in our part of the country, in 1755, with the brief observation, that wherever he went, he carried the prospect of the then approaching French war with him, "like his shadow, through Yorkshire and Lancashire," p. 448. The same author, speaking of a previous visit of Whitfield to this town, in 1753, says—"He fared better at Liverpool. There another convert, won by his printed sermons, met him on landing, took him home, and convened great numbers to hear him." Life and Times of Whitfield, p. 414. Who was this convert? It is annoying to be thus tantalized. The visit just spoken of was the first which Whitfield paid to our town, and was an exceedingly brief one. Newton's words, when referring to it, September 16, 1755, p. 102, are, "Having never been here before but one night, he was not known or regarded by the fashionable folks, though several of them went to hear them." Some years before 1753, it appears that Whitfield visited Manchester, but did not extend his tour to Liverpool. Had I been able to procure a sight of Gillies' Life of Whitfield, which I perused above 39 years ago, I might, perhaps, have gleaned some additional particulars respecting the preaching of this wonderful man in our locality.

numerous interments took place—the chapel itself having stood back a little way from both the Streets just named. Its exact locality is indicated in Gage's map of Liverpool, 1835. And the traveller, coming from Southport, or Yorkshire, by the railway, may, if he sit close to any of the windows on the east side of the carriages, and happen to look down at the proper spot, rapidly but accurately trace the whole area, which the chapel and its graveyard once occupied.

Like many other buildings, Leeds Street Chapel has for the last fourteen or fifteen years been numbered with "the things that were." The edifice itself was removed, and the bodies which had been interred within its precincts, found another, and it is hoped, a more permanent resting place.

15.—*Chapel, Sir Thomas' Buildings.*

A person walking along from Dale Street to Whitechapel, by Sir Thomas' [Johnson's] Buildings, might easily pass the chapel just named without notice; only one end or gable of it reaching to the Street, and houses on each side coming up close to it. Its position is on the right hand, seven or eight houses from Dale Street, and it is entered by means of a narrow passage. It was, I presume, erected between 1780 and 1790.

We find it mentioned among the Roman Catholic places of worship, in the Directories, from 1790 till 1813, the Rev. John Price being represented as its officiating clergyman.

Since the time last specified, it has been occupied by various religious sects. Between 1818 and 1821, it seems to have been in the possession of a body of Baptists, under the pastoral care of Mr. J Shooeller. Independents, if I am not mistaken, were the next who worshipped in it.* The Rev. H. S. Joseph, a converted Jew, afterwards chaplain at the Workhouse, and now holding a similar situation in Chester Castle, preached to a Hebrew church of Christian Israelites, in the chapel, Sir Thomas' Building, from 1831, till about 1835, or 1836. It was during this period, February, 1832, that the edifice was consecrated by *Bishops* Mathews and West.† Mr. Joseph, who is a truly respectable man, has, since that time, been admitted to deacon's and priest's orders, in the Church of England. After Mr. Joseph's leaving Sir Thomas' Buildings Chapel, to become chaplain at the

* I remember well my having, on one occasion, in 1824 or 1825, addressed a congregation from its pulpit.

† See *antea*, part I, under "All Saints."

Workhouse, the Rev. John R. Conor, and a congregation connected with the Church of England, proceeded to occupy it. It was opened by licence from the Bishop of the Diocese, and for a time was called St. Simon's. The occupancy of this building by Mr. Conor and his flock, extended from 1836, or 1837, till 1841, when he and they, as has been already stated, took possession of the old Scotch Secession Meeting House, Gloucester Street. That, as we have seen, has since been replaced by the present Gothic edifice of St. Simon's. Mr. Conor is still its incumbent.

A congregation of foreign converted Jews, under the ministry of Mr. Hirsch, has, during a portion, if not the whole of the period since the departure of Mr. Conor and his people, worshipped in the chapel, Sir Thomas' Buildings. The service is conducted in the German language.

16.—*Edmund Street Chapel.*

This small building, to which entrance is obtained by a long and narrow passage, lies at the back of the houses on the right side of Edmund Street, going from Oldhall Street. It may be 15 or 20 yards from the last-mentioned thoroughfare—the court leading to it being nearly, but not quite opposite to Earle Street.

Several religious denominations have worshipped in this scarcely known and somewhat antiquated edifice, at different periods; but it strikes me that it has been principally in the occupation of one section or another of the Baptist body. Mr. Underhill was for a time pastor of the church assembling within its walls. I have more than once heard the late well-known, Mr. William Gadsby, Baptist minister in Manchester, deliver in it very characteristic and effective discourses.

Mr. John Nevin, a most respectable minister from the north of Ireland, (who several years ago went to America,) along with a small congregation of Covenanters, or reformed Presbyterians, had for some time the use of this chapel.

17.—*The Baptist Chapel, Great Crosshall Street.*

This structure, several times referred to, claims a passing notice. It is of considerable size, It was opened by Mr. Underhill in 1818, or 1819; but, owing to unhappy dissensions, originating principally in pecuniary difficulties connected with the erection of the building, was soon left by himself and friends. Since then, it has been in the possession of more than one body of Particular Baptists. A Welsh congregation of this persuasion, lately

occupied it. Indeed I believe it is still in their hands. There was a very small burial-place behind. Considerable alterations have taken place in this edifice, rather, I should say, additions, have been made to it, since it was originally constructed.

18.—*Zion Chapel.*

This is situated at the junction of Murray, Charles, Hood, Roe, and Market Streets, opposite the north-west angle of St. John's Market,* and although of no great size, is one of the neatest edifices of its kind in Liverpool.† It is in the Grecian style of architecture, having two columns of the Doric order, with entablature and pediment to correspond, in front. For many years, it was occupied as a place of worship, by Methodists of the New or Kilhamite Connexion. Having been sold, and converted into a Fish Hall, about eighteen or twenty years ago, its congregation removed to Bethesda Chapel, Hotham Street, as already mentioned.

The body assembling here enjoyed in 1829, and for some time afterwards, the benefit of the ministrations of Mr. Thomas Allin, a man of considerable ability, and characterised by no small share of originality of mind. Mr. Allin is favourably known as a theological writer.

19.—*Meeting House, Prussia Street and Pall Mall.*

This building is the property of the Welsh Calvinistic or Whitefieldian Methodists, a body existing in large numbers, and possessing great influence, in the neighbouring Principality.

A chapel, occupying the site of the present one, was erected by the same sect in 1787; but, having been found to be small and inconvenient, it was taken down in 1816, and replaced by that which now meets the eye. From the circumstances of this Meeting House standing in a densely-peopled locality, and of a considerable proportion of its neighbours being natives of Wales, it is always well attended.

20.—*Meeting House, Bedford Street, Toxteth Park.*

Another place of worship belonging to the highly respectable Association of Welsh Calvinistic Methodists. It is situated between Stanhope and Upper Harrington Streets. Ebenezer is the name borne by it. Looked at from Bedford Street, it has a large and respectable appearance. The period of its erection was 1806. Very considerable alterations and repairs have been undergone by it, within the last twelve or fifteen years.

* Vid: Gage's map of Liverpool, 1835. † Getting rapidly and sadly deteriorated.

In this edifice, between twenty-seven, and forty or forty-five years since, Mr. Thomas Edwards preached, one of the most able, efficient, and successful ministers, of whom the Welsh dissenters of Liverpool can boast. He was emphatically one of our worthies. In point of literary qualifications and accomplishments—to which he made no pretensions—he did not rank high. But in masculine strength of intellect, originality of thought, and vigour of expression, he was equalled by few if any, and surpassed by none of his contemporaries. To hear him address an audience in his native tongue, when in good trim, is said to have been a perfect treat. A conversation with him, I can testify, was so.* This extraordinary and excellent man who was beginning to break up from the time that I first knew him, died in 1825, or 1826. His decease occasioned a great sensation among the nonconformists of this place. The funeral, in several respects, deserves to be spoken of as a public one. A very long procession of mourners, through a dense crowd of spectators, made its way from Ebenezer Chapel, to St. James' church-yard, where the interment took place. Dr. Raffles having pronounced the oration in the chapel, the body, on its arrival at the church, was received by the Rev. W. I. Hutching, then incumbent at Wavertree, and now resident in London, who read the burial service of the Established Church in Welsh, in a manner the most solemn and impressive. The large attendance of mourners, the deep solemnity that pervaded the whole mass, and the stifled sobs, from time to time audible on every side, rendered the scene one which it is impossible ever to forget.

21.—*Benn's Garden Chapel, Redcross Street.*

Considering what has been said already of this building, it is enough to observe at present, that after having been vacated by the Presbyterians, (Unitarians,) in 1811, on occasion of their taking possession of Renshaw Street Chapel, and undergoing certain necessary repairs, it came into the occupation of a respectable body of Welsh Arminian Methodists, who have continued to worship in it ever since.

22.—*Chapel at the bottom of Stanley and Matthew Streets,
and corner of Derby Place.*

Under the head of St. Stephen's Church, Part 1, I took occasion to allude to the building of this place of worship. It was erected by Mr.

* A prayer which he offered up in my house, on occasion of a breakfast at which Dr. Raffles, and a considerable number of the dissenting ministers of Liverpool were present, has made an indelible impression on my mind. †

Johnson's followers, for his and their joint use, when they quitted the old Byrom Street Chapel, in 1747-48. Having been occupied by Mr. Johnson himself till his death, and for several years posterior to that event by his friends and co-religionists, it was finally abandoned by them in 1800, when they opened and took possession of their new place of worship, in Comus Street.*

The departure of the Johnsonian Baptists, was followed almost immediately by the occupancy of Stanley Street Chapel, by a society of Particular Baptists, under the pastoral care of Mr. Abram Webster. The ministry of this gentleman extended from about the beginning of this century, till 1810, or 1811.

Mr. Webster was succeeded by Mr. Henry Paice. During his settlement, and in consequence of his earnest and zealous exertions to promote the cause of adult or believers' baptism, the controversy arose, in which Dr. Stewart, minister of Gloucester Street Chapel, and Mr. David S. Wylie, pastor of a Sandemanian Baptist body then meeting in a room in School Lane, acted prominent parts. Dr. Stewart published a very able pamphlet in opposition to Mr. Paice's views. This drew forth from Mr. Wylie a reply, couched in the form of letters, and reaching to about 100 pages, which, in point of perspicuity, classic elegance of style, vigour of composition, research, sound biblical criticism, and the use occasionally of a sarcasm, forcibly reminding one of Junius, has had few if any parallels among the productions of the Liverpool press. Never was the Baptist cause so well, and at the same time so succinctly defended.†

To return, Mr. Paice quitted his charge in 1815, or 1816, and I am not aware that, except Mr. John Underhill, he had any settled successor in the Stanley Street Chapel.

In 1818, the church and congregation removed, with Mr. Underhill, whom they had called to take the spiritual oversight of them, to the then recently-erected place of worship, on the south side of Great Crosshall Street; and the Stanley Street Chapel having been sold, was converted into an old furniture warehouse

* Where Mr. Stephenson, from Wisbeach, during a considerable period of time, officiated as minister. Then, Mr. Guyton.

† I am not a Baptist; and yet a regard to truth constrains me thus to express myself.

While speaking of the Baptist controversy, I may take occasion to state that one very long and laboured work, on the Baptist side of the question, has issued from the press of this town. It is the production of Mr. Seacombe Ellison, a respectable gentleman belonging to the place, and a member of the Johnsonian body here.

This edifice occupies a conspicuous place in Mr. John Eyes' map of Liverpool, 1765,* and the passenger may still recognise it, in Derby Place, near the spot where Matthew Street joins Rainford Gardens, amidst all its changes, by its pediment, and its decidedly chapel-like construction.

23.—*Quaker Meeting House.*

The former meeting house of the Friends, stood in Hackin's Hey, off Dale Street, close to Quaker's Alley. It was opened in 1709, and is, or at all events, lately was standing. Access to it is debarred to the public, by a high stone wall.

From sixty to sixty-five years since,† the body removed to the commodious, but plain-looking structure in Hunter Street, which had been erected for its use, and which it continues to occupy. Adjacent to this building, and with a wall close to Hunter Street, is a cemetery, in which are deposited the remains of Dr. Rutter, one of the founders of the Athenæum, and founder of the Medical Institution. Here also rest several other worthies connected with the Society, who, during their lifetime, had their residence in Liverpool.

24.—*The Jewish Synagogue, Seel Street.*

According to Lacey, page 271, the Jews had originally a Synagogue in Matthew Street, which existed in 1776, and which, according to the same authority, came afterwards into the possession of the Glassites, or Sandemanians, a respectable body of professing Christians, which, for thirty or forty years at least, has had its place of meeting in Gill Street, near Pembroke Place.‡

Mr. R. Brooke, F.S.A., a member of the Society, is of opinion that the first Jewish Synagogue was situated, not in Matthew, but in Cumberland Street, just at the place where, in going towards Dale Street, it begins to widen. Discoveries of coffins and human bones, made here some years

* In the map of Mr. Charles Eyes, 1765, it is also very distinctly laid down.

† 1790, or 1791.

‡ The Glassites, or Sandemanians, derive their origin from Mr. John Glas, at one time minister of Tealing, near Dundee, who quitted the Church of Scotland in 1728, took up his abode in Dundee, and died there in 1773. His works, including that most able and scriptural piece, "The King of Martyrs," extend to four large and closely printed 8vo. volumes, which were printed and published by Donaldson, at Edinburgh, 1761. Mr. Robert Sandeman, his near relation, who espoused his sentiments, was author of the celebrated "Letters on [Hervey's] Theron and Aspasio," as well as of several other clever productions. The sect is often, particularly in Liverpool, nicknamed *Beefeaters*, from the social meal of which, on the principle of the *ἀγᾶραι* or love-feasts of primitive Christianity, the members, without distinction of rank, partake with each other, between the morning and afternoon services.

ago, when a house was taken down, for the purpose of a new building being erected in its stead, and certain other circumstances, seem to Mr. Brooke to corroborate his view of the matter. But, he has been good enough to inform me, that so far as his enquiries have hitherto been prosecuted, he can obtain no satisfactory information whatever. Either the Jewish registers are silent on the subject, or there is an indisposition to say anything about it. Mr. Brooke appears to have come to the conclusion that the Israelites who first appeared in Liverpool were probably foreigners, who resorted to it for the purposes of traffic, and who, having had no intention to take up their permanent residence here, either kept no records, or, if they did, on their return to their native country, carried these along with them. At all events, so far as our friend's researches have yet extended, no written traces of the occupation of the meeting house in Cumberland Street, by the Jews, have been brought to light.

Having carefully examined the maps of Mr. John Eyes, 1765, and Mr. Charles Eyes, 1785, having compared them with that of Gage, 1835,* and twice personally inspected the locality referred to, I am satisfied that I have made myself acquainted with the merits of the case, as well as discovered a way in which the apparently conflicting statements of Lacey and Mr. Brooke admit of an easy and perfect reconciliation. Matthew Street, in 1765, and even now, assuming Derby Place to be a part of it, reaches from North John Street to Derby Street, called in 1765, Lower Stanley Street. This last named Street leads into Whitechapel. Almost close to that part of Derby Street, (in its entire length, a very short thoroughfare by the way,) which is at the northern end of what was once Mr. Johnson's Chapel, and which runs into Broker's Alley, stood the first Jewish Synagogue. Without being chargeable with any great inaccuracy, a person who had occasion to speak of this building seventy or eighty years ago, (when there were scarcely any houses between it and Matthew Street, and when, nearly as soon as the Matthew Street Baptist meeting house was passed, one found oneself at the edifice in question,) might, correctly enough for ordinary purposes, describe it as in that Street, or, at any rate, at the end of it. Besides, to mark still further a sort of loose or general propriety in speaking of the Synagogue as having been in Matthew Street, it may be added, that in 1765, there was no Street or Lane leading from it to the north, east, or west, as it stood close to fields intervening

* At the Athenæum where an admirable series of maps of the town may be consulted.

between it and Sir Thomas' Buildings. Cumberland Street on the west reached no farther than Poplar Wient, now Poplar Lane, and on the east there were only about four or five houses from Whitechapel; and, therefore, ingress to it, and egress from it, were obtained, if not exclusively, at all events principally, from Matthew Street. It was situated towards the eastern extremity of Matthew Street; its position resembled what the French call a *cul de sac*, and as having been in some respects a continuation of the street just named, it might fitly enough be regarded as in it. Mr. Brooke, however, is after all *more exact* (not perfectly so, for the Synagogue was not put down just at the spot where Cumberland Street *begins to widen*.) than Lacey. Charles Eyes' map of Liverpool, 1785, in which the two portions of Cumberland Street, previously separated, are represented as joined, shews the edifice in question to have had its site close to the *narrower* portion of that Street, where its exact location may I think, without much difficulty, be ascertained. Cumberland Street, Bakehouse Lane, (formerly Bakehouse Wient,) Stanley Street, and Broker's Alley, form very nearly a square, or "block" of houses. In 1765, judging from J. Eyes' map, this space—to the west at least—seems to have been open; now it is densely, I should say entirely covered with buildings, and extremely small courts. At the north-eastern corner, or extremity, of this block, with its front, or rather perhaps one side to Cumberland Street, stood the Synagogue. Subsequent changes, although they have succeeded in effacing all traces of it, still leave the spot which it occupied easily discoverable. Bakehouse Lane goes through from Stanley Street, to Cumberland Street, but Broker's Alley, which is parallel to Bakehouse Lane, reaches only from Stanley Street, to that part of Derby Street which terminates westerly, at the northern angle of the old Baptist Chapel. There a gate intercepts further progress north-eastwards, or to Cumberland Street. Let the observer then take his stand at the Stanley Street end of Broker's Alley, or rather on the footpath of Stanley Street, immediately opposite to it. Looking over the wooden gate which bounds the Alley to the north-east, he will perceive a building of two or three stories in height, and of comparatively recent erection, apparently a workshop or factory, and probably that of a joiner or wood-turner. The other side of this building is in a line with Cumberland Street. Taking the maps of 1765, and 1785, as well as ocular observation, for our guides, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion than this—that on the site occupied by this factory, or at

least on a part of it, stood the first Jewish Synagogue in Liverpool. Here, in all likelihood, in preparing for the erection of the factory referred to, were found the coffins, bones, and other remnants of mortality, to which allusion has been made by Mr. Brooke.

When this first Synagogue had been abandoned by the Liverpool Israelites, and had come into the possession of the Sandemanian body, the next meeting place of the Jews was between Pitt and Frederick Streets, at a very small distance from Kent Street.* The exact situation of this, and of the small burial ground attached to it, occasion no difficulty. They are still easily accessible.

The present principal Jewish Synagogue is a neat edifice in Seel Street, near Colquitt Street—an open space, of some size, being connected with it. It was built and opened for public worship about 43 or 44 years ago. A Hebrew inscription in front serves at once to indicate it to the passing stranger.†

Some members of the Hebrew fraternity have for several years assembled for devotional purposes in the room in Pilgrim Street, near Hardman Street, to which we have had occasion more than once previously to allude.

Besides the burial places already spoken of, there is one for the interment of Hebrews, now disused, at the corner of Oake and Crown Streets; the latter thoroughfare having been long known as Boundary Lane. This may still be visited by the curious. A cemetery, with a handsome façade, situated in Deane Street, near London Road, has now for many years been devoted to the burial of their dead by the Jewish community.

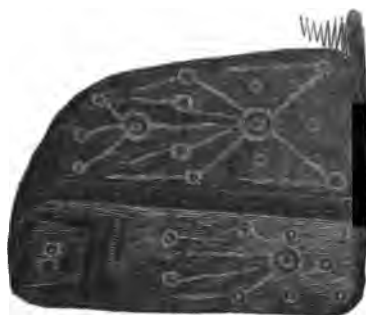
[The unexpected length of this paper has prevented the insertion of some additional matter respecting persons and places. For the sake of completeness, it was thought desirable to notice *all* the instances of "destruction, removal, &c.," and this has been done on the same scale as in the first part, vol. iv.—ED.]

* See W. Moss' *Liverpool Guide*, 1799, p. 64.

† Several years ago, on one of the few occasions on which I have visited Seel Street Synagogue, I had the unexpected pleasure of hearing a gentleman, named Isaacs, deliver a discourse, of some length, on Revelation. If the discourse itself was unexpected, so also was the able and admirable manner in which, in many respects, he treated his theme. Without of course pledging myself to the approbation or adoption of all that was said on the occasion referred to, I can state with truth, that I heard expressed in the happiest language, sentiments which, from the correct views of the subject which they afforded, might well put many calling themselves Christians, but who in ignorance of what they are about, have endeavoured to rest divine revelation on the basis of mere human reason—the substantial on the basis of the shawowy—to the blush.

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KNIGHT.



PAWN.

CHESSE-MEN FOUND AT THE MOTE HILL, WARRINGTON.

II.—AN ACCOUNT OF EXCAVATIONS MADE AT THE MOTE HILL, WARRINGTON, LANCASHIRE.

By James Kendrick, M.D.

A few years more, and the existence of the *Moot*, or *Mote-Hill*, at Warrington, will become a mere record of history. The course of modern requirement has called for its entire demolition and removal, with the exception of a small and mutilated portion, which still holds a precarious and undistinguishable tenure. Its site now forms part of that of the "*Clergy Orphan Institution*," and to secure a proper foundation for this extensive building, it has been found requisite from time to time to remove portions of the ancient *Mote-Hill*, until little now remains.

Whilst the recollection of these changes remains fresh in the memory of many, I have thought that a short record of them would be a fit subject for the consideration of our Historic Society; the more so, as, independent of their local interest, a few of the early remains found during the excavation of the *Mote-Hill*, possess likewise a singular value to the general archæologist.

An examination of the neighbouring locality, leads to a belief that the *Mote-Hill*, at a very remote period, formed part of an elevated ridge of land, running in a north-east direction from the site of the present church-yard. A large portion of this ridge still remains in the fields between the *Mote-Hill* and the high-road to Manchester; and it is not improbable that the high land of Church Street is another portion, running in an opposite direction.* But be this as it may, the form of the hill, which, until a few years back, was a very perfect oval, is clearly artificial; and, with its flattened summit, was a characteristic example of the tumulus, designated by antiquarians "the broad barrow." Its height above the land surrounding it was three yards, though apparently greater, from a trench or water-course, which ran at its base on the south and west sides, and on the outside of which were distinct remains of a *vallum*, or earthen parapet. Prior to the year 1832, when a large portion was removed from the south-west border of the hill, its level summit measured from east to west fifty-four

* A reference to the *Plan of Warrington*, given at page 22 of the preceding volume of the *Historic Society's Transactions*, will greatly assist my description of the locality.

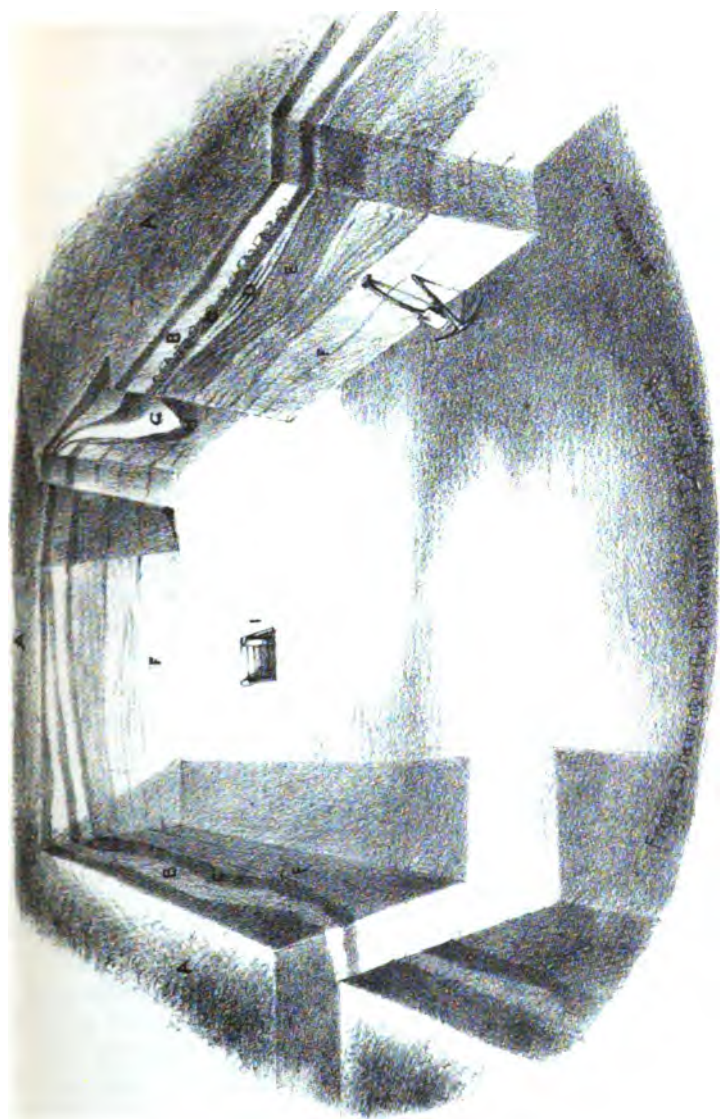
yards, and from north to south forty-three yards. The south and west sides were steep and abrupt, terminating below in the ditch and *vallum*, whilst on the north and east, although the form of the mound was very clearly defined, its sides sloped more gradually to the low ground near it.

The first inroad upon the *Mote-Hill*, in its perfect state, (at least for two centuries,) occurred in the year 1832, as just stated, and we are fortunate in possessing from the pen of the late Rev. Edmund Sibson, of Ashton, near Wigan, a graphic account of the form and size of the mound at that time, and also of the early remains found during the removal of a considerable portion. This valuable contribution to our local history, forms part of an account of the *Roman Roads in Lancashire*, written by Mr. Sibson for Mr. Edward Baines, and inserted in the third volume of his *History of the County of Lancaster*, a work of so easy access and frequent reference, that I will not occupy the time of the Society with reading the description of the *Mote-Hill* at Warrington, more especially since the appearances there detailed are inferior in interest to those observed in 1841, when the centre of the mound was opened to a large extent, and a considerable depth, as the foundation of the "*Clergy Orphan Institution*."

The necessary *Excavation*, of which a drawing is appended,* was in length thirty-four yards, and in width twenty-two yards; comprising within its extent rather more than one-half of the area of the *Mote-Hill*, and this too, from its centre. Its depth was three yards, and several driftways for the removal of the soil, afforded additional opportunities of displaying the internal structure of the mound.

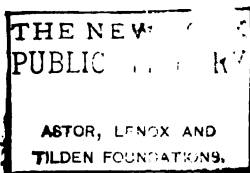
On examining the sides of the excavation, it was evident that the summit of the hill had been raised to the extent of three feet, by the heaping upon it of much clay, sand, and earth. (B. B. in the drawing.) The line of separation was very distinctly marked by a stratum of pure vegetable soil (C). As my subsequent remarks will entirely refer to a period *anterior* to this adventitious superstratum, I may dismiss it at this point by stating

* A. A. A. Green sward, covering the top of the *Mote-Hill*.—B. B. A stratum of clay, mixed with earth, copper dross, fragments of earthenware and glass; in the lower part many tooled *ashlars*.—C. C. A stratum of vegetable soil, with boulder pavement in places.—D. Burnt Clay, mixed with carbonized wood, reeds, &c.; on the top a layer of black matter, mixed with unburnt bones and broken pottery.—E. Sandy loam.—F. F. F. Ochrey sand.—G. A conical pit, containing white wood ashes, with burnt pottery and bones (human?).—H. Sand, burnt to a red colour.—I. An ancient *well*, the sides formed of oaken staves. In it were found the bones of deer, sheep, geese, and other animals; also a small bronze *fibula*, or brooch.



EXCAVATIONS AT THE MOTE—HILL.

W. E. Hammond & Co. Ltd. 1914



that it is traditionally said to have been placed upon the ancient *Mote-Hill* by the forces of the Parliament, in the year 1643, with the view of battering the church, which was garrisoned by Royalists, from thence. To this precise spot, indeed, and to this occasion, I refer the marvellous incident recorded in the Puritan tract, "*Lancashire's Valley of Achor is Englands Doors of Hope; by a well wisher to the Peace of the Land, and Piety of the Church*," printed in 1643, when the noise of the besiegers working was providentially concealed by a high wind.* In the removal of this mingled stratum of earth and rubbish no relics were found, with the exception of a few of no earlier date than the Siege in 1643. A military spur, a few brass ornaments for harness, with some fragments of glass, which may be referred to the same period, comprise all. One or two English coins of a later date were found, and a gold moidore of Portugal, **IOANNES. V. D.G. PORT. ET. ALG. REX. 1724."**

Having thus disposed of the less interesting portion of my subject, I turn to the consideration of the *Mote-Hill*, in more ancient times. Commencing with the line of vegetable soil, (marked C. in the drawing,) which unquestionably marks the original summit of the mound, I shall first describe the appearances presented by the sides of the *Excavation*, and the early remains found in it, and afterwards enumerate such objects of interest to the antiquary as were found at *uncertain* depths, in consequence of the impossibility of constant supervision by those whom other engagements unavoidably called away.

Below the band of vegetable soil, the hill was composed of sand, disposed in wavy strata, and of remarkably sharp texture. Underneath the sand, again, was a thick bed of clay. On a level with the line of vegetable soil, traces of the action of fire were manifest over a large extent. The materials employed for combustion appear to have consisted of brushwood, reeds, and straw, the remains of which, though carbonized and blackened by the fire, might still be distinctly made out and separated. The thickness in which this stratum (marked D. in the drawing,) was found, varied from an inch to a foot or more. At the point on which it was thickest, the sandy soil underneath had been burnt to a bright red colour; and the pebbles with which it was mixed were calcined by the application of so strong heat. Intermixed with the burnt vegetable matter were found many

fragments of pottery, of early mediæval date.* Such they have been designated by Mr. Akerman, the Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, to whose opinion the more interesting relics found at the *Mote-Hill* have been submitted. Along with them were picked up the half of an ancient iron horse-shoe, curiously vandyked on the outer edge; an oval piece of iron, which may have formed the head of an arrow or javelin; another piece of iron, apparently the curb of a horse's bridle; a curved knife-blade, considered by Mr. Akerman to be Anglo-Saxon, and part of a small millstone or quern.

In many places, immediately above the burnt vegetables, was found a thin layer of a peculiar brown matter, which had an unctuous feel when kneaded between the fingers, staining them to a deep chocolate colour. When applied to the flame, however, it did not ignite, nor exhale any unpleasant odour, nor when gently heated did it melt, but on the contrary, left a dry insoluble powder. It could scarcely, therefore, be an animal *residuum*. There were, however, at the same level found large quantities of broken bones and teeth of the ox, and wild boar, and probably of the red deer also, as portions of stags' horns were here and there discovered. As was remarked by Mr. Sibson, who observed the same organic remains in the excavation of 1832, every bone had been broken, but none actually burnt; leading to the inference that the animals had been rudely cut up into pieces for the convenience of cooking, and completely refuting any supposition that the carcasses had been buried entire.

At one point of the Excavation, (marked G in the drawing,) a deep pit, of a conical form, had been dug in the sand, and a wood fire burnt in it, as was evident from the quantity of white ashes which it contained, amongst which were found a few pieces of early pottery, strongly burnt, and three or four fragments of calcined bones, which an acquaintance with anatomy leads me to believe were those of a human being.

There is one point further shewn in the drawing, which requires description; an ancient *draw-well*, marked I. Although here represented as on a level with the floor of the Excavation, it originally extended upwards to the line of vegetable soil, and was reduced correspondingly with the removal of the sand. The sides of the well were composed of oaken staves, laid horizontally, and supported at each end by strong posts, driven deep into the

* See the six lower figures in the accompanying drawing.

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POTTERY FROM THE MOTE - HILL

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clay. The well had been filled up with earth, and the rapid rising of the water from the spring below prevented the whole of this being removed. Amongst the mud taken out, in the vain attempt to empty it, were found the bones of deer, sheep, geese, and other animals; a number of shells of land snails; pieces of oaken timber, much blackened, but in good preservation; a large nail, of rude and curious shape, as also another of smaller size, apparently lost from a horse-shoe, and a small slender *fibula*, or buckle of bronze, which Mr. Akerman considers Anglo-Saxon.

Many other, and indeed more valuable relics, were found mixed indiscriminately with the soil and rubbish after their removal from the Excavation. Though this lack of certainty is much to be regretted, its occurrence was unavoidable, since each observer, however zealous in the work, had his own more important private duties. Fortunately none of the soil was carted away from the neighbourhood of the mound, but was employed in filling up the moat or water-course surrounding it, and in levelling other inequalities of the ground. It is still possible that early relics of interest may from time to time be recovered; and this, in truth, is no unfounded expectation, as the further course of my narrative will shew.

Amongst the refuse soil, during and after its removal, there were found many fragments of early *pottery*, chiefly mediæval, with some few of Roman date. Mr. Baines, in his quarto edition of the History of Lancashire, states, (vol. iii., p. 651.) that no Roman remains whatever had (in 1836) been discovered in the Mote-Hill at Warrington. I have in my possession, however, fragments of the necks of two *Amphoræ*, and the handle of a third, which are unquestionably of Roman manufacture, found at the Mote-Hill in 1841. A fourth, also, of very curious form, has been pronounced to be "*first Roman*," by Mr. Akerman. It has possibly formed the handle of a *patera*, or sacrificial vessel.*

But the most interesting relics which were brought to light upon this and a subsequent excavation at the Mote-Hill, are two ancient *Chess-pieces*, formed of jet; and my account of the Mote-Hill would be most incomplete without some notice of these early remains, although they have already been exhibited, and the circumstances of their discovery detailed at the Day-Meeting of the Historic Society, in the month of April last.

* See the *three* upper figures in the illustration.

I picked up the smaller of these pieces on the occasion which forms the subject of the present paper, from earth which had been wheeled from the Excavation, and can therefore afford no clue to the precise spot where it had lain concealed for ages. So little evidence of antiquity did it possess, that I preserved it unnoticed for ten long years, amongst the other results of the search, until, in the early part of the last year, (1851) my opinion was asked on the nature of the larger piece, which had just before been found by a labourer, in a further enlargement of the Clergy Orphan School, rendering necessary extensive cutting, at a right angle with the former excavation. Unfortunately, no one qualified to examine and record the appearances exhibited on this second occasion, was aware of the undertaking until too late; but from the account given by the finder, I feel every confidence that the larger piece was seen by him *in situ*, and that this was in, or immediately below, the line of vegetable soil which marked the original summit of the Mote-Hill. A momentary glance at this second relic was sufficient to connect it with the former one, and no time was lost in submitting both to the opinions of our most distinguished archaeologists. Without hesitation, and with one accord, they were pronounced to be *Chess-pieces*, and of a date anterior to any previously known.*

As it is scarcely possible to imagine a figure more simple and primitive than the smaller piece, we may safely term it a *Pawn*, the piece of least value. The larger one I look upon as a *Knight*: but if we except the two small circles on the upper and fore part, which may have been intended for eyes, and some distant resemblance in the whole figure to the arching neck of a horse, we are left to form our judgment rather from the negative character which it exhibits, when compared with the other pieces of the game, than from any distinguishing points.

The pieces are formed of remarkably fine *jet*, similar in quality to that obtained from the aluminous shale in Yorkshire, where it is employed, even to the present day, in the manufacture of ornamental articles. Fosbroke, in his *Encyclopedia of Antiquities*, states that even prior to the Christian era, the Britons were in the habit of carving rings and beads from this material, ornamenting them on the outside with imperfect circles, scratched upon them by some hard instrument.

* With the exception, perhaps, of those of the Emperor Charlemagne, given in Willemin's "*Monumens Inédits*."

The close affinity which this description bears to one of the present relics, would at first view carry us back to this period of our history for their origin, but authorities are unanimous in considering that the game of Chess was introduced into this country by the Danes, in the reign of Canute. A date further back than this, therefore, we cannot assign to them.

Mr. Albert Way, who favoured me by exhibiting the *Chess-men* at the recent Meeting of the Archæological Institute at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, likewise informs me, that from a recent conversation with Worsaae, the Danish antiquary, he learns that no objects formed of jet have been discovered in the Scandinavian countries. Nor is this to be wondered at, since the material does not occur there as a natural production. We cannot, then, consider the Chess-knight and Pawn, found at Warrington, to be of Danish manufacture and introduction; but must of necessity descend to the later Saxon times. And this I consider their probable era. The insatiable attachment of the Saxons to the "Royal Game," is perhaps another argument for the correctness of this date, and the two interesting relics now brought again to the light, may, in an age long past, have been the warlike toys of one of the Saxon thanes, named in the Domesday Survey as holding land under King Edward, within the hundred of Warrington.

In relics of the description before us, the style of ornamentation is often a useful index to the most valuable points of their history. Unless my failure in detecting this may be in part attributable to the limited means of reference which a small provincial town affords, I fear we have little to hope from this source. The only instance of an approximation to the figures seen on the larger Chess-piece found at Warrington, is on the shield of one of the ancient Chess-knights found in the Isle of Lewis, depicted and described by Sir Frederick Madden, in the 24th volume of the *Archæologia*. The device on the shield alluded to is a simple linear cross, the centre formed by a dotted circle, and each limb similarly terminated. By a reference to the wood-engraving given here, it will not require much imaginative licence to detect a similar device, the form of the Chess-piece rendering it necessary that the cross should be somewhat distorted. It is singular, and perhaps not without a hidden meaning, that the straight lines and other supernumerary ornaments are all in an erect, instead of a pendent position. The instrument employed in the carving, (if it be in the least worthy of such a name,) appears to have been a sharp knife, from the

notches still remaining in the small angles round the apparent face of the horse. The circles and lines are very irregular and rude, but the surface and bevelled edges of the pieces bear a high polish, little affected by the coarse depository in which they have reposed for centuries.

I am fortunate in possessing the opinions of several distinguished archæologists on the subject of the Warrington Chess-men. After stating his conviction that the relics are unquestionably chess-pieces, Sir Frederick Madden, (in himself a host,) thus continues:—"The period to which they belong is a more difficult question, but from the rude style of ornament, I should certainly judge them anterior to the twelfth century, and perhaps as early as the tenth. * * * * The workmanship of the pieces found at Warrington is so rude that they may have been executed by a Scandinavian, an Anglo-Saxon, or a German hand; and, no doubt, the history and supply of the *material* of which they are made, (as in the case of the Lewis Chessmen, made of the teeth of the *Walrus*.) would have considerable weight in determining the people by whom they were cut and engraved." Mr. Roach Smith says—"The Chess-men may be as old as the ninth or tenth century. At the same time they may be as late as the twelfth. I should not think they are of a date much more recent than the latter, and it is more likely they are older." Mr. Way concurs with Mr. Roach Smith in the date which he assigns to the relics, and further considers them undeniably the fabrication of this country, and not of its foreign invaders. Mr. Hawkins, of the British Museum, by whose favour the chess pieces were exhibited to a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, on the 17th of June last, stated upon that occasion, that in his opinion, they cannot be of later date than the tenth century, and that they are unquestionably genuine.

With the sanction of such high authorities, I think I may claim for the town of Warrington the good fortune to have furnished archæologists with the earliest form of chess-men hitherto discovered. They are likewise the only specimens which can, with any degree of confidence, be considered of British manufacture. When entire, the set must in all probability have comprised the usual number of thirty-two pieces; sixteen being of jet, and the same number of some adverse colour and material. For the latter, amber, ivory, or the tooth of the *Walrus*, are the most probable; all of extreme durability, and leading us to entertain a hope that ere long it may

be the lot of some lucky excavator to strike his pickaxe into a perfect California of ancient chess-men.

I have dwelt so long upon these interesting relics that little time is left for any further remarks upon the *Mote-Hill* itself. Various surmises have been ventured upon, relative to the period at which the Mote-Hill was first formed, and the purposes to which it was then applied. Pennant pronounced it of Roman origin; Dr. Ormerod says that it is Norman, and Mr. Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, considers it Saxon. To this last opinion I think all the appearances detailed this evening afford strong support. Mr. Sibson, likewise, who was present at the examination of the hill in 1832, and again in 1841, coincides in this view, and suggests that it originally constituted a *tumulus*, or burial-place, raised after the battle fought at Winwick, near Warrington, on the 5th of August, A.D. 642, between the rival Saxons, Oswald, king of Northumbria, and Penda, king of Mercia, in which the former was slain, and to whose honour the Church of Winwick is still dedicated. The details of Oswald's death and burial are, however, circumstantially narrated by *Beda*, as taking place at Winwick, and with him it is probable that his followers, who fell on the same occasion, were interred. May I, then, express an opinion that the Mote-Hill, at Warrington, is the *tumulus* of Elfvin, a Northumbrian prince, nephew of king Oswald, and like him a Christian, who fell in battle with Ethelred, king of Mercia, A.D. 679, since the parish church at Warrington, at the period of Domesday Survey, was dedicated to *St. Elfín*. The distance from Warrington to the field of battle, on the banks of the Trent, in which Elfvin fell, is probably not more than twenty-four or thirty miles, and being a near relative of both kings, it is more than likely that his remains would be brought for Christian interment to his native province. Here, then, within a quarter of a mile of the ancient *Ford* over the Mersey, *which they must have sought to gain the kingdom of Northumbria*, I suppose that the royal Elfvin was interred, and the Church which then, or soon afterwards, arose near the spot, dedicated to his memory.

When England fell under the Norman sway, we find that the conqueror placed his baron, Paganus de Vilars, at Warrington, and that he selected the *Mote-Hill* as the site of his residence. Of this a few probable remains were found at the time of the excavation, consisting of massive beams of timber, and a few tooled and squared stones, which may have formed

the foundation for the pillars of a gateway. Immediately above the stratum of vegetable soil, which I have spoken of as indicating the original summit of the hill, a number of boulder stones, disposed in the form of a regular pavement, were found over a large extent of surface, and may formerly have marked out the court-yard. At this level was also found a silver penny of Henry III., the moneyer's name **AIMER. ON. LVND.** We have no record of the demolition of this edifice, but in a Survey of the Barony taken in the year 1587, in possession of the Right Hon. Lord Lilford, the *Mote-Hill* is spoken of as "the Scyt of the Mannor or Barronage nowe decayed, and no Buildinge thereuppon."

In conclusion I may state, that from measurements and calculations which I have caused to be made, there still remains a small portion of the *Mote-Hill* undisturbed. Such inducements to further research as I have detailed this evening, combined with the watchful interest awakened amongst the workmen and gardeners employed at the Institution, inspire me with a hope that at some future time, unless undertaken by an abler hand, I may again have the pleasure of laying before the Historic Society an account of further discoveries made at the ancient *Mote-Hill* at Warrington.

SECOND MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 9th December, 1852.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were duly elected :—

1. *Honorary Member.*

Robert MacAdam, College Square, Belfast.

2. *Ordinary Members.*

Edward Benn, Vauxhall Distillery, Liverpool.

Edward Bury, F.R.S., Sheffield.

Thomas Eckersley, Wigan.

Samuel Robert Graves, 18, Redcross Street, Liverpool.

Henry Walter Harrison, 5, Rodney Street, Liverpool.

Rev. John Henderson, M.A., Colne.

Robert Hutchison, 61, Grove Street, Liverpool.

George F. Smith, 6, Park Lane, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table :—

1. *From the Societies.*

Transactions of the Dublin University Philosophical Society, vol. v., 1852.

Archæologia Cambrensis, or Transactions of the Cambrian Archæological Association; New Series, No. xii.

Græco Egyptian Fragment on Magic, being No. 2 of the 8vo. publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1852.

Annual Report and Minor Communications from the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 8vo, 1852.

2. *From the Library and Catalogue of the Library, 4to., 1852.*

Museum Committee
of the Town Council.

3. From *Individual Donors.*

- Dr. Hume. Catalogue of the national and provincial antiquities in the temporary Museum at Belfast, September, 1852.
- Thomas Avison, F.S.A. Dugdale's Monasticon, 1st English edition, abridged from the Latin. fol., 3 vols. in one, 1693.
- Dr. Kendrick. Impression from the original wood-block of Eyres's Warrington Advertiser, issued 23rd March, 1756, and supposed to have been the first newspaper in the county. The post-boy is represented as leaving the town for the South, by the ancient stone bridge; the watch-house on the first pier is represented. (*See illustration.*)
- Old blue back, or the Warrington Volunteer. This was the oldest corps in the County, except that at Lancaster; the members provided themselves with arms, accoutrements, and clothing.
- Dr. Thom. The works of John Barclay, A.M., Pastor of the Berean Church, Edinburgh, with preface by Dr. Thom, 16mo. Glasgow, 1852.
- Memoir of Mary Martha Sherwood, by Dr. Thom, an 8vo. Tract, 1852.
- Messrs. William and Guy Medley. Memoirs of the late Rev. Samuel Medley, (their grandfather,) compiled by his son. 8vo. London, 1800.

The following articles were EXHIBITED :—

- By the Rev. G. B. Sandford, M.A., Church Minshull. The Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, in the parish of Church Minshull, from 1561, to 1851, arranged Alphabetically.
- By Simon Yorke, Esq., Erddigg, Wrexham. Six original documents, relating to Cheshire, illustrative of the Revolution of 1688.
- By Lady Combermere. Copy of an original document at Combermere Abbey, relating to the imprisonment of Sir Robert Cotton, in the Tower, 1685.
- By Thomas Avison, F.S.A. Plan, section, and description of a Liverpool Slave Ship, 1790.
- By Peter R. McQuie, Esq. The "Liverpool Chronicle" newspaper, of October, 5th, 1769. It consists of eight pages, and is marked volume ii., No. 98. It contains, with other matter, a letter to Junius.



ORIGINAL WOOD-BLOCK OF EYRE'S WARRINGTON ADVERTISER.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Muster Roll of the Liverpool Independent Volunteers, 1803; on parchment and in a case,—Capt. George Case, First Division. Out of about 100 individuals named in it, Thomas Moore, Esq., is the only one now living amongst us.

Silver Medal, presented by Lieutenant Colonel Bolton to Corporal Leatherbarrow, for his faithful services, August 25th, 1805.

Sword, captured by Mr. Leatherbarrow's great grandfather at Preston, in 1745. The captor was a tailor, and when the rebel rushed up his stairs to plunder, he beat him back with his goose.

An original letter of the Duke of Wellington, to Thomas Moore, Esq., dated March 14th 1836.

By John Robson, Esq.

A statuette, which seems to have been attached to a crucifix. It was found in a railway cutting, near Preston Brook; the feet are pierced together with one hole. Its date appears to be from the 12th to the 14th century.

By Dr. Hume.

A Dutch tobacco box, carved both at top and bottom, and which must have been carried over the arm by a chain, like a reticule.

By C. B. Robinson, Esq.

Sketch of an ancient door in West Kirkby Church.

Sketch of St. Wilfred in Ripon Minster.

The Secretary laid upon the table a copy of volume iv., and stated that the Plates alone in it had cost more than a hundred guineas.

Dr. Hume drew the attention of the Meeting to an Australian newspaper, the *Melbourne Argus*, of August 21st, which a friend had forwarded to him, on finding that it contained a report of part of the Society's Proceedings, in the month of April last. There is a similar notice in the *Tasmanian Colonist*, of September 6th.

On the recommendation of the Council, two Resolutions were unanimously adopted: the *first* giving the Presidents and Secretaries of the other learned Societies in town admission to all the ordinary meetings, and extending the privilege to other officers on occasions of special interest; the *second* expressing regret for the death of Mr. Just of Bury, and sympathy with the members of his family.

PAPERS.

NOTICE OF CERTAIN DOCUMENTS, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REVOLUTION
OF 1688.

By Major-General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., D.C.L., F.R.S.

These letters were found in a bundle of others of no public importance, at Erddigg, near Wrexham, in Denbighshire, the residence of Simon Yorke, Esq. They relate to the family of Edisbury, to whom that mansion belonged at the period to which they refer. Joshua Eddisbury, Esq., had married a daughter of Broughton, of Doddington, and was evidently embarked, heart and purse, on the popular side, at the Revolution of 1688. His correspondents are naturally all of the same opinions; and the whole is interesting as a domestic episode in our County History, of which the Lord Delamere's tryal and acquittal form an important incident. Within a few years of these events, the mansion of Erddigg was sold to the ancestor of Mr. Yorke, and it is not a little remarkable that a bundle of letters relating to a family who alienated it so long ago, should have been so long dormant in a neglected corner. Henry Lord Dela Mere was tried for high treason, in connexion with Monmouth's rebellion. The account of this transaction is thus related by Bishop Burnet:—

“ Soon after the Prorogation, the Lord Dela Meere was brought to his trial. Some witnesses swore high treason against him, only upon report that he had designed to make a rebellion in Cheshire, and to join with the Duke of Monmouth. But since those swore only upon hearsay, that was no evidence in law. One of the witnesses swore home against him, and against two other gentlemen, who, as he said, were in company with him; and that treasonable messages were then given to him by them all to carry to some others. That which gave the greatest credit to the evidence, was that this Lord had gone from London secretly to Cheshire at the time of the Duke of Monmouth's landing, and that after he had staid a day or two in the country, he had come up again as secretly to London. This looked suspicious, and made it to be believed that he went to try what could be done. The credit of that single witness was overthrown by many unquestionable proofs, by which it appeared that the two gentlemen, whom he said met with that Lord in Cheshire, were all that while still in London. The witness to gain the more credit, had brought others into the plot by the common fate of false swearers, who bring in such circumstances to support their evidence, as they think will make it more credible, but being ill laid, gave a handle to those concerned to find out their falsehood. And that was the case of this witness for, though little doubt was made of the truth of

that which he swore against this Lord, as to the main of his evidence, yet he had added such a mixture of falsehood to it, as being fully proved destroyed his evidence. As for the secret journey to and again between London and Cheshire, that Lord said, he had been long a prisoner in the Tower upon bare suspicion: He had no mind to be lodged there again: So he resolved in that time of jealousy to go out of the way: And hearing that a child, of which he was very fond, was sick in Cheshire, he went thither: And hearing from his lady that his eldst son was very ill at London, he made haste back again. This was well proved by his physicians and domestics, tho' it was a thing of very ill appearance that he made such journeys so quick and so secretly at such a time."

Henry Lord Delamere was the second son, but eventually heir of Sir George Booth, Bart., elevated to the Peerage on the accession of Charles II. for his loyalty and services to the Crown in the Great Rebellion. He was M.P. for the county of Chester during the life-time of his father, and was appointed Custos Rotulorum of the County of Cheshire, on the resignation of his father, 1673. He was distinguished in an early period of his parliamentary career, by his ardent affection for the liberties of his country, and the Protestant Establishment; and he was active in promoting the bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York. The conduct of Mr. Booth met with the visitation which might actually have been expected, from the arbitrary measures of the Court, immediately upon the accession of that Prince to the Throne, as James II. He was put out of the Commission of the Peace, and deprived of his office of Custos Rotulorum, and after his accession to his father's title, in 1684, he was thrice committed to the Tower, and liberated without any formal accusation being brought against him. The following order to the Lieutenant of the Tower, shows the time and manner of the committal of a fellow-sufferer.

Robert, Earl of Sunderland
and Baron Spencer &c.

These are, in his Majesty's name, to authorize & require you to receive into y^r Custodie the bodie of S^r Robt Cotten of Cheshire, herewith sent to you, for dangerous, and treasonable practices. keep him safe and Close till hee be discharged by due course of lawe, for which this shall bee y^r warrant, given at the Court of Windsor the 23^d daye of Sep^r 1685

SUNDERLAND

To the Lieutenant
of the Tower

On the 9th of November 1685, Lord Delamere, then a prisoner in the Tower, petitions the House of Peers.

"That His Majesty by his Proclamation, dated 19th July last, did require the Petitioner to appear before him in Council in thirteen days, not for any matter of treason, but for other less matters herein contained. That accordingly, within seven days he did render himself to My Lord Sunderland; And that after being brought before His Majesty then sitting in Council he was neither confronted by any person that accused him, nor otherwise charged with any manner of Treason, but only asked some questions relating to matters of a less nature. And had he been guilty of them, yet by law, he might and ought to be bailed. That yet the Lord Sunderland, by warrant bearing date 26th July last, did commit the petition to the Tower of London (for High Treason in levying war against the King) where he had remained ever since under a very close restraint."

Mrs. Mainwaring's letter to Mr. Edisbury, gives an account of Lord Delamer's journey to London from His Lordship's Country Seat of Mere, in Cheshire. It may be remarked in passing, that this lord is indicated as "Henry Baron Delamere of Mere in the County of Chester," and that the evidence on the trial speaks of his Country House of *Mere*; but the residence of the Brookes, of that name, came into their possession A.D. 1652, and was never inhabited by the Booths; and it does not appear from King's Vale Royal or from Ormerod, that there was any other mansion of this name, belonging to the noble family of Dunham. The lady correspondent is an unmarried niece, whose mother is a Broughton, of Doddington. The following is her letter.

For Josua Edisbury Esq^r
att

Dodington
These.

July y^e 28th

1685:

Hon^d S^r/

Y^r oblidging letter has given us all grate sattisfacktion: bringing y^e good news of y^r healthe: and y^e our frends at Dodington are well: which I pray God Long to Contunue: on friday Last my L^d went towards London: wth much Cherfulness: & saide as he Did formally: y^t if innocinc would prove a protection he was Secure however he Desired y^t both he: & his frends might submit wth all patience to y^e will of God: for if Death Came: he hoped it wod not Be a Surprise to him: his poore Lady went after him on Sunday: But if she herd By y^e way y^t he was not in the tower: she Desined to turn back agane: But as yet we have herd no more: y^e reason he Declared why he obsconded: was this: for fear of imprisonment: which he saide was as bad as Deathe to him: and in y^t Junture he writ to my L^d presedent y^t he would apear might he have his Liberty: & this was before

y^e rebells were taken: & since he writ to y^e same porposs So
 y^e y^e may find by y^e: he had no Desine of riseing: which his
 Enimise say he had but this post bringing y^e news of y^e Ld^r
 being secured: makes us fear it may be his fortun tow: but
 all we Can do is to beg of God to fit us for y^e worst: and sup-
 port his peopel in ther afflictions & we have then grate reason
 to think y^e he will in y^e End: turn & ordor all for y^e Best my
 Coson Ravenscrofts are here y^e give you all ther service: my Cos:
 Mary Desires y^e faour of my Cos: bety glegg to Make her a
 bottol of surrop of Clofe giliflowers & she will return her y^e sugar:
 wth many thanks: & if y^m Dont hit: this year if she Can procure
 her any she will take it for a grate faour: y^e whole service of this
 fameley atends all at Dodington: which is all ye trobell you
 shall recive at present but to beg y^e believe y^e I am: y^e most
 affec: nece & hum^{bl} ser^t

my service to Cos:
 bety

C. MAINWARING.

We herd this post from our frends at London & y^e all are
 very well I thanke God: and desine this week to go to
 tunbridg

Lord Chancellor Jeffreys in his place in the House of Lords, November 16th of the same year, gave this account to their Lordships of the proceedings had and intended to be had, against the Lord Delamere. "The treason whereof he is accused was committed in Cheshire, and that being a County Palatine the prosecution must be there and not in the Court of King's Bench, as it might be if the Treason had been committed in any other County. And therefore His Majesty had given order for a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*, in order to the finding an indictment against him." The Indictment is set out at length, but it does not appear from the "State Tryels" *where* the trial was had, excepting that it was before Jeffreys as Lord High Steward, and thirty Peers chosen "by commandment of my Lord Steward of England." Lord Delamere pleaded that he could not be tried by a Jury of his Peers during a Prorogation of Parliament, but the plea was overruled. The following letter from Sir Robert Cotton, Bart., fixes the date of the Tryel.

For Josuah Edesbury
 Esqre at Erthigg neare
 Wrexham In Denbigh
 Shire
 by Chester bagg.

Dⁿ S^r

This daye the Lord Delamer was tryed there Ma^ties
 being present, the tryall lasted for 7 howers, many witnesses weare

Examined against him, as well as ffor him, but In the Ende hee was acquitted by all his Peeres. Saxons euendence was Equally ffull against the same Lord: m' Offley & your seruant ffor high treason, but as ffully disproued, I hope you will neuer haue occasion to trye how much you haue oblidged mee to bee

Jan^r ye 14
168⁵

Your most ffaith
full & humble seruant

ROB COTTON.

No contemporary Record mentions the fact of "There Ma'ties being present,"—which proves, nevertheless, the deep interest taken by the court in the prosecution of this Lord. It is added, "The tryall lasted for 7 howers." In the account given by the "State Tryalls," it appears that the noble prisoner, on being called on for his defence, said, "May it please Your Grace, a great part of the day is spent, and I would beg the favour of Your Grace that I may have the favour till to-morrow morning to review the notes I have taken, and then I shall make my defence." On this the Judges were consulted, as to whether "after my Lords the Peers are once charged and the Evidence partly given" . . . "an adjournment could be done by Law." The Judges return with answer, that "the point is both new to us and of great consequence in itself;" they therefore think it the properest way, having laid matters as we conceive them before Your Grace and my Lords, to submit the jurisdiction of your own court to your own determination." On which Jeffreys lays it down thus. "I apprehend this court is held before me. It is my warrant that convenes the prisoner to this bar. It is my summons that brings the Peers together to try him, and so I take myself to be Judge of the Court; for though your Lordships are judges of your own privileges, yet, with submission you are not Judges of the Law in this Court, for that I take to be my province." Accordingly, he directed the Tryall to proceed. Sir Robert Cotton goes on to say many witnesses were examined against him, and notices especially "Saxon's evidence," were equally full against the same Lord, Mr. Offley and your servant, for high treason. It was as follows :—

"At the beginning of June last, I was sent for to Meere, my Lord Delamere's house in Cheshire, where, when I came, I was conveyed into a lower room, where were my Lord Delamere, Sir Robert Cotton, and Mr. Crewe Offleys, and they told me that I was recommended to them by my Lord Brandon, who had said I was an honest useful man, and they hoped I would prove so. For they had sent to the Duke of Monmouth who was in Holland, and

received an answer by one Jones, and as soon as they had an answer, my Lord Delamere came away first into the Country, under another name, to raise 10,000 men for the Duke of Monmouth in Cheshire by the first of June; but now they had considered it and found they could not raise them till Midsummer, for they must have time to raise a sum of money, forty thousand pounds in that Country to maintain the men. They asked me whether I would not undertake to carry a message to the Duke of Monmouth. I told them I would, and I had then given me eleven guineas and five pounds in silver for my journey, and I did hire a horse afterwards, and did deliver my message to the Duke of Monmouth."

It appears this Saxon was "a public tradesman in Middlewich," and had been taken prisoner after Sedgemoor, and put in prison at Dorchester and Newgate; from thence he was now brought to give his evidence. The Attorney General in his opening stated,—“That the late Duke of Monmouth did look “upon Cheshire as one of his main supports, and upon “My Lord Delamere as a principal assistant there; that he had a design “to have landed in Cheshire, where he expected to be most readily “received; that when Lord Delamere came into Cheshire, he had set about “the work to put that County in a forwardness to assist in the Rebellion; “and had acquainted this man (Saxon) with the whole design; and was “engaged to raise so many thousand men and so much money, to be ready “by such a day.” Very clear evidence was produced, of the worthless character of Saxon; and the butler, footman, and maid servants of Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. Ashburnham, and Mr. Heveringham, Members of the House of Commons, proved that Sir Robert was in town when he was said to have been in Cheshire Sir Willoughby Aston and his servants proved Mr. Offley to have been in his own house at Crewe Hall, in Cheshire, on the day named. Accordingly, as Sir Robert Cotton's letter has it, “In the ende he was acquitted by all his Peeres.”

The occasion of the correspondence between Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Edisbury, appears from the second letter to have been this. Sir Robert being thus suspected of Treason was required to give “such grate bayle” as the latter gave his friend. From the “Bayle” he was called to appear at the King's Bench, on the 23rd of January, to be discharged, together with Lord Delamere and Mr. Offley; but the letter goes on to give a piece of information, of which I find no notice taken anywhere. An “Indictment or Information of perjury” was “preferred against Saxon;” and, it is added in a P.S.,—“the prosecution of Saxon is by his Ma^{ty} order.” Yet in Grainger it is said the King was

very desirous of his Lord Delameres being tried before another tribunal, where even the testimony of such a wretch as Saxon would have been admitted. The following is the letter :—

For Josuah Edesbury
Esq^m at Erthigg
neare Wrexham
by Chester
bagg

Honored S^r

After the great obligation you laid upon mee In giueing such great Bayle ffor mee, I can not but giue you Notice that this daye My Lord Delamere, mr. Offeley, and my selfe apeareed at the King's bench, where wee weare all discharged, And an Endictment or Information of periury prefferred against Saxon who accused us, I hope you will neuer haue occasion to use y^r ffriends on the like account, but you maye bee confident on all occasions you will find me

the prosecution of Saxon
is by his Ma^{ties} order

Jan^{ry} y^e 33rd
8^s

S^r

Your most oblidged
Cosen & humble
Seruant

my wife is your seruant
& wee are both soe to my Cosen Bettie

ROB COTTON

Lord Delamere had soon an ample revenge for any severities that had been employed against him. He, together with the Earls of Devonshire and Danby privately concerted the plan of the Revolution, at the village of Whittington in Derbyshire, where the room in which they sat, what is now a farm house, is still distinguished by the name of "the plotting parlour." After the Revolution was complete the same noble Lord was sent with the Marquis of Halifax to the Earl of Shrewsbury, to inform Prince James that the Prince of Orange desired he would quit Whitehall. To his honour it is recorded that the generous conduct which he displayed on this occasion, made such an impression on the fallen Sovereign, that after his retreat into France he said, "The Lord Delamere whom he had used ill had treated him with much more regard than the other two Lords to whom he had been kind, and from whom he might better have expected it."

The next letter is from Sir William Forester, K^t., who appears from the context to have accompanied the Prince of Orange to England. He is not mentioned in those lists which are found in any of the Histories

I have met with; but must have been a man of some consequence, as he was married to a daughter of James, the third Earl of Salisbury, and is said by Collins to be "of Dothill, in the County of Salop, Knight." I apprehend him to be an ancestor of the present Lord Forrester.

For Jos Edisbury
Esquire.

Hon^d S^r

Dodington Jan 17^o ⁸⁸/₃

I flattered my selfe with y^e hopes of seeing you here, y^e I might not only acknowledge y^e hon^r done me by your kind letter, but have y^e satisfaction and advantage of talking wth you on y^e present happy Conjunction, a subject fitter for conversation than my Pen, especially at this time when y^e shortness of my stay here, and my fathers coveting my company, rob me of y^e pleasure of answering you soe fully as I wou^d. I can arrogate nothing to my selfe from my promoteing all along, & now engaging in y^e Deliverance of Eng^d, since 'twas a right I owed to my Country, ariseing from Principles as unchangeable as my nature, & I know you too well to doubt y^e readiness in shareing in y^e hon^r of saving y^e na^on, had you ever been seasonably advertisid of the design, w^{ch} you had been from me by an express at Landing, had we come as was intended into y^e North. The Prince has done his part, and if y^e Convention do's not theirs, to settle us now on sure foundacons, we may reproach those y^e send up y^e frank Ch——s & Ned Kin——s to ease dissenters, and secure us ag^t Popery & Arbitrary Power hereafter.

I am sure there is noe one vales your friends.p. more than my selfe, or wishes more for occasions to convince y^e how much I am
y^e true friend and faith full serv^t

W: FORESTER.

The last letter is from Peter Shakerley, Esq., M.P. for the City of Chester, and gives an interesting account of public events; the death and general mourning for Queen Mary, and the proceedings in the House of Commons towards raising a supply for the year 1694.

Westminster!
Jan y^e 5th 1694

Sir!

Y^e may think mee verry forgettfull both of my Respects and Promis to y^e that I have not before this time given y^e the Troubl of a Letter, but truly I have these two things to say for my self, first that I have had not any thing to write, save what y^e had in y^e Publick Prints (for 'though the Loss of our good Queen was much feared before it came, yet it was not fitt to mention it before the Government thought fit to publish it) and in y^e next Place I had noe mind to write any News w^{ch} I was not well assured was True.

The Death of y^e French King's great General Monsieur Luxemburg is certain ; But as for y^e Report of his Son's Killing y^e Duke of Mayn (y^e French King's base son) it seems but a Fiction. Wee are still in expectation of some Attack to be made by y^e Confederate Forces, towards Dixmude, and if the frost houlds 'tis affirm'd something will be don on that side, and y^e Duke of Savoy 'tis thought will force Cazall to surrender, if 'tis not very speedily relieved by y^e French.

Yesterday our house was in a grand Committee to consider of ways and Means to rais the Remaind^r of y^e supply for next year. The Total of w^{ch} is 5 millions, and 2 millions of it is supposed to com in upon y^e 4^p pound Bill now before us, one million more is designed to be had out of the Tunnage and Poundage Act already pass'd, and towards a Fund for the other two millions a Duty was proposed of 3^p p^r Tunn upon *all* Coal, But upon y^e Arguments urged that *all* Coal could not bear that nor in deed any charge y^e Question dwindled to onely Coal put on Shippboard and Landed in England or Wales or Ireland, but that allso cooled upon y^e debate, and other Hares were started, one was a duty to be pay'd upon Marriages, Christenings, and Burialls ; and other Hints were again made for a Tax upon Leather, w^{ch} is what y^e Courtyers doe most desire ; 'twould Rais an unknown great summ of money, and creat a great Number of Officers, w^{ch} would make see many Dependancys upon them. But that w^{ch} yet seems the most aequall, (if any Tax can be see) is a Proposition made by Doctor Barebone, viz : that each house having two chimneys and under four, should pay 2^s 6^d p^r ann^m : and each house haveing four or more should pay 5^s p^r ann^m : this he proposes will raiz one hundred and twenty thousand pounds p^r Ann^m : w^{ch} 'tis allow'd would be a Fund for 2 millions. But what these Debates will end in time must shew. My humble service presented to y^e self, Cozen Betty and Mrs. Lea, I remain

Y^r Oblidged Nephew and

most obedient Serv^t.

PETER SHAKERLEY

To morrow every person
of any Note in this Town
will be in Mourning for y^e Queen
w^{ch} has made Black Cloathiers
from 18 to 30^p Yard

I add a Memorandmm, apparently of the time, giving a detailed account of the progress and extent of the fire of London, 1666.

Memorandum Sunday 2^d 7^{ber} 1666 about 8 in y^e morn y^e wind being high and easternly there happened a lamentable fire in a baker's house in pudding lane neere new fish street w^{ch} burnt with y^e violence y^t it turned into ashes y^t day Thames street, from puddle wharf to y^e 3 cranes new fish street eastcheape, y^e Southside of cumming street, p^t of Dougate and all y^e lanes & streets between those places.

vpon munday y^e 3^d it burnt Grace church street p^t of fancis street

y^e northside of Cumming street, Lumbert street, cornhill, y^e Royall exchange, y^e poultry, whalbrooke, all from y^e Thames to cheapside as far as S^t paule church yard wth y^e South side of cheapeside.

vpon Tuesday & tuesday night it consumed all y^e remaineing west p^t of y^e city wth Ludgate, newgate, Old Bailiefe St. Martins, great wood street, y^e rest of cheapside and most of y^e north p^t of city, wth Billingsgate & y^e east end of Thames street to y^e tower And all y^e Towerstreet y^e Tower hardly escapeing wth y^e custome house wth all y^e wharfes & cranes thereabouts.

Wednesday it destroyed Ludgate hill & ffilet street as far as y^e Temple & wth in 3 houses of St. Dunston's church, on y^e other side of ffilet street, sue-lane, halfe fetter lane, Houlbourne till from newgate to y^e Bridge p^t of cow lane, Pye corner y^e remainder of y^e north p^t of y^e city downe to Aldergate Cripplegate & moorgate, Posthouse, Thridnidle street, Barthollomew lane Lothbury, p^t of Broad street y^e Duch church & Augustine but not y^e french church, there may now be tould oh y^t it might not be tould soe to y^e enemie of our peace and religion aboue 60 steeples the churches destroyed & never a house between them.

There remains wth in y^e wall onely Bishoppgatestreet & leadenhall street S^t Hellens, St. Marie, Duks place Broad street winchester street Crutch's friars seething lane Mark lane & halfe fances street, New Aldgate.

Mem. Southwarke was fired at y^e same time, but throw mercy onely two houses burnt, y^e remaining p^t of y^e city attempted to be burnt Tuesday y^e 6 being sett on fire in Bishopsgate street but timely p.vented

II.—ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY THE PLACE CALLED "PARATHALASSUS," MENTIONED IN ONE OF THE COLLOQUIES OF ERASMUS.

By William Rushton, Esq., M.A., London.

In that colloquy of Erasmus entitled "*Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo*" he mentions the incidents of a pilgrimage to three shrines; (1) of St. Iago de Compostella in Spain, (2) of the Blessed Virgin at *Parathalassus* in England, and (3) of St. Thomas at Canterbury. The second of these places is said to be situated in the farthest corner of England; * in the north west, (inter Occidentem et Septentrionem), about three miles from the sea; the religious house is of regular canons; and the neighbouring village is supported by profits arising from the concourse of strangers. A minute description of

* "*Ad extremum Angliæ finem, inter occidentem et septentrionem, haud procul a mari, passuum fere tribus millibus. Vicus est vix aliâ re victitans, quam commeanium frequentia.*"

the chapel and relics is given ; but the most important relic was a portion of the Virgin Mother's milk. A Parisian named William, whose brother was Bishop of Constantinople, in his earnest zeal to collect relics, procured a quantity of this milk at the latter city. In his progress to deposit it in the temple of the Blessed Virgin at Paris, he took sick and died, but a companion of his journey undertook to forward it to its destination. He also died on the way, and the milk finally reached Paris by the hands of an Englishman to whom it had been entrusted. The regular canons there presented him with half of it, as a reward for his pains ; and this he conveyed to the shrine at "Parathalassus" in his native country.

The writer of this paper is of opinion that the word indicates a positive place, and is not a mere topographical description meaning "by the sea side;" but in examining what actual place coincided with the description, he was not able to arrive at a definite conclusion, and merely suggested the inquiry. Assuming that Erasmus actually meant the North West of England, and that England in his day as well as our own included Wales, the following places may be examined :—St. Asaph, Rhudlan, Birkenhead, Cockersand, Conishead, Furness, Lytham, Preston, St. Bees. The detailed description of the place, as given in the original, coincides in part with the characteristics of some of these ; but none of them is exactly suitable. Some disagree in position, others in their relation to the sea, religious character, &c.

It has been alleged that Erasmus, in saying "the North-west," referred to England as lying North-west of Holland, where the dialogue was written to which allusion is here made. This explanation, however, is at variance with the words "ad extremum *Anglia* finem, &c." Perhaps, after all, it is a mistake of Erasmus, exhibiting either ignorance of geographical details or lapse of memory.

[The shrine to which Erasmus alluded, is most probably that of Our Lady of Walsingham, in Norfolk, founded in the eleventh century. It was visited by several kings and queens of England, including Henry VIII., and the legend of the Virgin's milk was connected with the popular belief that her peculiar place in the heavens was the milky way, or as they called it, the "Walsingham way." The wells, the distance from the sea, the celebrity of the shrine, and numerous other circumstances, point out this place as the real Parathalassus ; however the speaker in the dialogue may seem to err in position or direction.—ED.]

THIRD MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 6th January, 1853.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of six Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected :—

Rev. Hugh Stowell Brown, 118, Chatham Street, Liverpool.
Gilbert James French, Bolton-le-Moors.
John Longton, Breck Road, Liverpool.
William Penn Smith, Hanover Street, Liverpool.

The following gentlemen were enrolled as Members without election, in accordance with a by-law of the Society :—

Sir John Potter, late Mayor of Manchester.
Thomas Littledale, Esq., late Mayor of Liverpool.
John Herdman Sherson Esq., late Mayor of Lancaster.
Philip Stapleton Humberston, Esq., late Mayor of Chester.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table :—

1. From the *Society*.

Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical
Society, Manchester; vol. x., 2nd series.

2. From the *Author*.

Shakspeare's Puck and his Folk Lore, vol. i.,
12mo., 1852. By Dr. Bell, Hon. Mem.

3. From *other* Donors.

J. W. Whitehead, Esq. English Liberties, or the Freeborn Subject's
Inheritance, 18mo., London.

A collection of the several statutes and parts of statutes now in force relating to High Treason, 18mo., London, 1709.

The Ancient History of the Septuagint, by the Rev. Dr. Done, of St. Paul's, 18mo., London, 1685.

Dr. Thom.

The Primitive Episcopal Magazine, 3 parts, 8vo., with a portrait of George Montgomery West, D.D.

The following articles were EXHIBITED:—

By the Rev. Mr. Bannister. An Ancient bronze Sacrificial knife, found at Pilling Moss, 1852.

By J. W. Whitehead, Esq. Jesus en de ziel, 18mo., Amsterdam, 1687.

By R. N. Dale, Esq. A pack of Cards, with illustrations respecting the Popish Plot, and the murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey. The original pack included fifty-two pictures and descriptions; of which in the present case, only five are wanting. These are *Spades*, I, II, and III; *Clubs*, I and VI.

By Dr. Hume. A map of the two counties of Down and Antrim (Ireland), coloured topographically, physically, ethnologically, and ecclesiastically.

By R. Brooke, F.S.A. Rubbing of a brass in Winwick Church,—Peter Legh, a Knight with monkish dress over his armour. (*Vide Proceedings and Papers*, ii. 246.)

Pine's *fac-simile* of Magna Charta.

By J. Stonehouse, Esq. Documents respecting the fires of London.

By T. D. Hibbert, Esq. Eight letters of the time of Elizabeth and James I.

The Chairman having drawn the attention of the meeting to the lamented decease of the Rev. G. B. Sandford, M.A., of Church Minshull, a valued member of the Society, a Resolution was unanimously passed expressing regret for his death, and sympathy with the members of his family.

A letter was read from James Boardman, Esq., suggesting the propriety of the celebration of the centenary of Roscoe's birth, on the 8th of March next, by the Literary and Scientific Societies and Institutions of the town. The Council were deputed to enter into communication with the other learned societies in the town on the subject.

Mr. Boardman also sent a communication in reference to the house in Richmond Row, lately called "The Loggerheads," noticed in Mr. Stonehouse's paper on Everton. It belonged to the Nicholson family, and was sold about twenty-five years ago. In a Liverpool paper of 1766, it is advertised as "half a mile distant from Liverpool." It is rendered remarkable by the fact that Mrs. Hemans in her youth, Ugo Foscolo, and Dr. Clayton of the Octagon Chapel, were guests of its owner, Matthew Nicholson, Esq. This letter was accompanied by a drawing of the house as it appeared in 1793.

Mr. Brooke drew attention to the fact, as shewn by Blackstone, that the privileges secured by Magna Charta were not extended to vassals, but merely to those embraced by the word "liber."—He also drew attention to a passage in it regulating commercial matters.

Dr. Thom communicated the words of Erasmus, about the interpretation of which there were various opinions, as expressed on Mr. Rushton's paper read at the last meeting, and subsequently in Mr. Robson's letter.

PAPER.

NOTICE OF THE PORTION OF THE MS., HARL. MSS., 1927, 10^b—
1574—1578 FORMERLY IN THE POSSESSION OF THOMAS CHALONER,
CITIZEN OF CHESTER.

By Thomas Heywood, Esq., F.S.A.

The pursuits and habits of the citizens of Chester during the latter part of the sixteenth century, presented a remarkable contrast to those of the inhabitants of the adjacent districts. Aix as described by Walter Scott, or Nuremberg as celebrated by Hagen and Longfellow, were not more addicted to poetry and song than Chester, and the Burgundians, and the German "Reiters," were about as uncongenial neighbours to René and Hans Sachs, as the turbulent inhabitants of Lancashire and Cheshire to the refined dwellers on the banks of the Dee.

There were many circumstances which tended to make Chester the resort of poets and musicians. Here, the minstrels came to receive from the Duttons those licenses which still conferred upon them a certain legality and dignity, notwithstanding the severity of acts of parliament, and the failing respect of the multitude. The Chester miracle plays, the subject of somewhat conflicting notices by Lysons, Ormerod, Markland, Collier, and Wright, required not only a number of separate companies of actors drawn from the Trades guilds, in order to insure a simultaneous performance, but

also a considerable auxiliary force of minstrels and singers. The songs introduced were of the most opposite character. Thus the gossips of Noah's wife indulged in the boisterous humor of a tavern, whilst the angels at the Nativity probably borrowed their melody from the cathedral choir. That choir, at the close of the century of which we treat, directed by Pilkington, had acquired great celebrity. Painting too, in various modes, lent its aid to the miracle plays. The necessity for suitably receiving the great officers who were frequently staying at Chester, on their passage to and from Ireland, as well as of doing honor to the Chamberlains, the Earls of Derby and Leicester, accustomed the citizens to speeches, laudatory poems, triumphs, masques, pageants, feats of activity, processions, &c. In some commendatory verses prefixed to one of Pilkington's musical publications, 1624, the high poetical pretensions of Chester, and the conviction of being able to make them good, are thus set forth—

Arts praise, and skill's high pitch, are not so tyed
 To bankes of Po, or silver Thames, (we see.)
 But Jove's faire bird may haunt fine streams beside
 And chaunt sweet layes on brinkes of Antique Dee,
 Old Chester is not so with Eld ore laine,
 That when contention is for praise, she then
 Should not her old borne title still maintaine,
 And put in for her claime to chiefe of men.

Brit: Bibl: 2, 160.

We should nevertheless do this city an injustice, if we believed that it was exclusively a receptacle for Troubadours and Jongleurs. The incessant passing of the military connected with the Irish service, of settlers, (undertakers as they were called,) on confiscated estates, and of soldiers oscillating between the low countries and Ireland; in short, the constant presence of fierce, reckless adventurers, sufficiently kept alive a warlike spirit. On all fitting occasions the citizens of Chester manifested courage and endurance, and especially during the civil wars in the time of Charles the First

Thus, however partaking of enjoyments which had much of an intellectual character, Chester was surrounded by districts then slowly exchanging the excitements incident to the feudal system, for the greater disquiet of theological animosities; they had also become the refuge of the wild and lawless.

I am he
 Have measured all the Shires of England over,
 Wales and her mountains, seen those wilder nations
 of people, in the Peak, and Lancashire,
 Their Pipers, Fiddlers, Rushers, puppet masters,
 Jugglers and Gypsies, all the sort of Canters,
 and Colonies of Beggars, Tumblers, Ape carriers,
 For to these Savages I was addicted.

(The New Inn, Ben Jonson.—Act 5, s 1.)

A manuscript book existing in the British Museum, (Harl. MSS. 1927, fo: 10^b) affords a considerable insight into the social economy of the city of Chester, at the period to which we are alluding. This work is written in various handwritings, on white paper, and is of the octavo size. It contains 120 folios, and belonged to Thomas Chaloner, and the eldest Randle Holmes. It is to the first fifty-three folios, the portion of the book occupied as an album by the productions of Chaloner, and his friends, that we would now direct attention. These are written between 1574 and 1578, the rest of the book is in Holmes' autograph, on paper of a red tint, the latest date being 1638.

Thomas Chaloner may have descended from the same Welsh family with his great namesake, although we have seen no evidence of such an alliance. The name existed in the counties of North Wales; and Chester was the resort of adventurers from the principality.

Ormerod, (Cheshire, vol. 1, p. xviii.) states on the authority of Dr. Gower, that "Thomas, Jacob, and James Chaloner, were father, son, and " grandson, and carried on the business of herald painters, and professed " compilers of genealogies at Chester, as conducted by Randle Holmes. " Many of their pedigrees are extant among the Harl. MSS., and one " entire volume of them was in the hands of the late Dean of Chester." In the Harl: MS., 1970, Thomas Chaloner is designated as "King of " armes for Ireland," and on the monument of his widow's husband (Ormerod, 1, 266) he is called "Ulster King at Arms." In examining, however, the epitaph in St. Michael's church, Chester, (Ormerod, 1, 271) we discover that he finally attained more important rank. *Hic jacet corpus Thomæ Chaloner nuper de hac urbe civis quem pater patratus a Trenta in boream sibi ad diem obitus 14^o Maii anno 1598 surrogarat quo magno suo desiderio expiravit.* Here lies the body of Thomas Chaloner, lately of this city, a Citizen whom Garter King at Arms appointed herald north of the

Trent, on the day of his (Chaloner's) death, the 14th of May, 1598, when to the great grief of Garter, he expired. Chaloner married Elizabeth Alcock of Chester, who becoming afterwards the wife of the first Randle Holmes, probably conveyed to him her deceased husband's collections of poetry. This lady died 1635, and Holmes in 1655, aged 84.

These Chester verses betray in their construction the age to which they belong. They have much of the smoothness which Surrey and Wyatt transferred from Italian to English poetry, qualified by a large admixture of Saxon metres, and by that use of alliteration which even Chaucer condemned. We must account 1574 as a very early period in the history of English poetry, and consequently, one in which models for improvement were scanty and little known. The two poets we have mentioned, with Chaucer, Baldwin, and Vaux, would almost complete the list of those who could then be deemed popular writers. There were ballads innumerable, poems of which the "Nut browne Maid" is an exquisite specimen, and songs of great pathos and beauty, snatches of which have been preserved by the dramatists of the succeeding age; but the value of these was less appreciated in Chaloner's days than in after times. For although Lilly's *Euphues* only appeared in 1581, yet affectation had previously been the received *Gradus ad Parnassum*, and Chaloner might indisputably be admitted to share in Puttenham's very doubtful eulogy on Vaux of being a poet of "counterfeit action." Where this Chester writer felt strongly, and wrote naturally, we think he was successful; but where he undertakes to display the emotions of his admiring friends, we regret that Sir Piercy Shafton cannot be resuscitated duly to estimate the performance.

We shall now give a portion of the table of contents of Chaloner's book, occasionally making quotations, and especially directing attention to a state of society in which the Muses acted so considerable a part.

" Sent to a gentlewoman whom he loved, long to her not known, 1576,
" May 2. T. C."

" Writt to a gentlewoman to the same effect."

" An epitaph for Jane, wife of Walter Foxe, Merchant, written in the
" Cittie of Chester, 1575. T. C."

" A poesie writt in a handkerchief for E. C. T. Ch."

" A wish, 1575."

" A young gentleman's letter to a gentlewoman, wherein he compares his
 " love to the Merchant and his affections to the Shipp, written p. T. C.
 " to J. B. the 20 June 1576 at Chester."

" Ten lines each beginning with the word " Tyme " p R Salisbury."

" A copie of demonstrations." These are verses made by Chaloner explanatory of a screen designed by Parker of Lord Derby's household, for the great hall at Lathom. The signs of the zodiac, the mariner's compass, and certain geographical problems, were explained on this screen, which also dealt in astrology, and even condescended to treat of the economy of the household. The poetry was inscribed on the outside of the first fold. There also occurs a poem on Parker's old age, in which Chaloner personating that important domestic, bids the world adieu.

He has here followed closely the piece written either by Surrey or Vaux, and given in Percy's Reliques, book 2, number 2, entitled, "The aged lover renounceth love," from which also Shakspeare did not disdain to borrow.

Lord Vaux writes,

My lusts they do me leave,
 My fancies all are fled,
 And tract of time begins to weave
 Graie haire upon my head.

For age with stealing steps
 Hath claw'd with me his crowch,
 And lusty youthe away he leaps,
 As there had been none suche.

* * *

A pikeaxe and a spade
 And eke a shrouding sheet,
 A house of claye for to be made,
 For such a guest most meete.

Chaloner thus paraphrases these verses,

My youthful wantonness,
 which flewe as swyfte as arowe,
 Brings me no other fruitfulness,
 but seeds of sores and sorrowe.

Tyme hath me overflowne
 old age hath me in snare
 Graie haire are rife, and overgrowne,
 and will me to prepare.

* * *

Wheare youthe doth me abhorre
and laughs to see my crutche
With scornes and toyes to see me wore,
as he sholde be none sutchē.

* * *

A pickaxe and a spade,
a platt to make my grave,
So tract of time hath turued younge trade,
which age no more must have.

Again Vaux says,

Methinkes I heare the clerke
That knolles the careful knell,
And bids me leave my weary worke
E're nature me compel.

Which Chaloner renders,

Come on thou knowlinge clerk,
and toll thie bell for me,
For I have done my worldly worke
and have no fear of thee.

Parker, with the other members of the Lathom household, no doubt resorted to Chester to share the amusements in which that city abounded. Of these an excellent account is given in the first volume of Ormerod's Cheshire. Two are alluded to in these verses, the horse race in which the silver bell given by the Draper's Company was the reward, and some other mode of competition for which a banner was the prize; thus the records of Chester inform us, that in "1578 Sheriff Montfort did win the standard "on Shrove Tuesday at the Rood Eye."

Chaloner representing Parker says,

Since I no more can beare,
and boast the banner brave,
I yelde it youthe henceforth to weare,
which age no more may have.
All bewtie won of yore,
old age hath conquered quight,
That bewtie brave, and lovers lore,
age doth no more delight.
Farewell therefore brave brute
that beares the boasting bell,
Farewell my swēet, & loving, lute,
whom I have lov'd so well
My children whom God brought
farewell to you eithe one,
For age to mee a passport brought
that I must needs be gone

The story of Troilus and Cressida so generally admired from the days of Chaucer to those of Shakespeare, and which, notwithstanding the asseverations of the Father of English poetry, is believed to have been of his own making, is noticed by Chaloner, folio 29, in stanzas to M. N. :—

If Troilus whose truthe was tryde
of craftie Cressis might complayne
as he had cause in care to byde,
no lesse a pinch doth pricke my payne.

“Acrostic upon the name of Jane Hanmer and Robert Salisbury fin:
“P. R. S.”

“Chaloner’s dream of a preseton” (procession), occupies 98 stanzas.

“To a friend that loved letteys and sallettes in winter when there was no force therein. Sepr 6. 1576”—That is when they were tasteless, forcing of vegetables is supposed to have been introduced into England at the close of the seventeenth century.

The only historical piece in this MS. is the epitaph on Walter, Earl of Essex. Chaloner here mourns the loss of one unknown to him at the request of Hurlton, a Chester follower of the Earls :—

Yet Hurlton for thie sake
My skill shall be in hazardes hands, this sad discourse to make.

And Chaloner also says, in conclusion of the subject of his verse, that he—

“was a stranger to his worthynesse.”

The poem would probably be written about 1576, soon after the Earl’s decease in Ireland. The imputation against Leicester of having unfairly caused Essex’s death in order to marry his wife, the beautiful, and afterwards, long-lived Lettice Knolles, is not alluded to in this epitaph. Yet the charge was early made, officially inquired into by Sir Henry Sidney, and occupied of course a conspicuous place in “Leycester’s Commonwealth.” The valour, generosity, and openness of character, which rendered the two first Earls of Essex so dear to the English people, was faithfully represented by the sorrowing Hurlton to Chaloner, as the characteristics of his late commander.

We could have wished, in thus conveying grief in lines of sixteen syllables, Chaloner had arrived at a more musical cadence, and left us the usual power of breaking each line into two. But his pauses render this a matter of difficulty and undesirable, and we conclude the dragging this slow length along is supposed to be congenial to the mournful occasion.

He had a face by fortune fram'd to lure no lack of love,
 Who can come fourthe and saie he lackt his right that did him prove?
 Who ever knew a nobleman that had more courtesie,
 Who ever saw a man like moved in cases of extremitie
 In Justice chair like Dove he sate where mercy should redound,
 In broyles he bore the braynes of Mars, whose Vallar did abound,
 In hart he had bold Hectors might, or Cesars mynd withall,

* * * * *

For he of gould makes no account but throwes it everywhere
 To them that doth by merytt want, or any worth appear,
 The golden gyftes hee gave to gwestes, a world of worthies waune
 Lyke him since brut did Bryttaine breed in bountie sutch a man?
 No! no! he hath not left behynd none sutch a one as he,
 That leaſte behynd a fertile soil in bloodie broyles to be,
 To winne his countrie fame did he this loathesome soil imbrace,
 And not by Coninges craft, for goulde or luker of the place.
 Farewell of Essex noble Earle, as mylde as was the dove,
 Whose princelie port, & pleasant speech, didst purchase peoples love—

* * * * *

A noble souldier form'd by kynd thus mutch to him is right,
 By open crie of every man that sawe him serve in sight,
 He kept a house & householde francke in all the countries wheare,
 He did abyde, as men would saie, some prince was placed there,
 Like bees the worthie souldiers swarm'd about his howses gate,
 He was a lanthorn of great light, & mirror of the state.

Love and death, metrical billets doux, sonnets, and epitaphs, did not entirely absorb the versifying powers of the citizens of Chester, good advice was conveyed in rhyme. At folio 10 we have "a coppie of a few lynnes" which were wrytt upon the backside of a booke, wrytt by T. C. for good "Counsell to A. S. a yonge wyddow by a brother, which booke was gyven "by the name of a glasse for a fairing—fin: T. C. 1576 June 20"—

In March, 1577, Chaloner addressed A. P. (Ann Percival?) in eight stanzas, beginning—

The hart I have in holde
 and Cheast, ys none of myne,
 The hart thou hast, & feel'st,
 in breast is none of thyne.

There are twelve stanzas headed "Sydanen," and signed Jo. Lloyd, beginnning—

Flee Statelie Juno Samos fro
 From Delos straight Diana goe,
 Minerva Athens must forsake
 Sydanen Queen your state must take,
 Sydanen conquers, &c.

Perhaps the most surprising specimen of affectation is contained in the "poem, in which a friend who styles himself Tuus dum suus semper et "ubique unus, Rod : Nelson," takes leave for apparently a short absence—

Oh brother Challoner, the powers divine
All hevelie hevelie wofully mourning,
Not one but all this person may guyde,
All hevelie hevelie wofully wandering,
And wheresoever my bodye remayns,
My hart with thine, till dethe shall abyde,
With sorrowful sighing,
Farewell my delighting,
Untill my returning againe.

And thus it proceeds through several stanzas.

At folio 41 there is a poem entitled (J. F.?) in the behaulfe of T. C.'s present calamytie, 1577, Julii, "we think Chaloner is the author, as it bears his signature.

And lyke the witlesse dogge that bytes the hurled stone
We curse the harme, & let the hurlinge hande alone.
I speake by prooffe, I pine through inward wooe
I rive my wounde, but like the hands that strike,
I hate my harme, and love my friendly foe,
That most I mynde that makes me most mislyke
And though I feel, and see, that venom'd is my meate,
I cannot stay desire of hunger bid me eate.

In folio 38 is an exceedingly spirited poem, with which we shall close our remarks. It is Chaloner's lament at losing a lady whom he had courted, and who had married another, apparently a friend, who suddenly returning after long absence was entrusted with Chaloner's confidence, who undertaking to advance his suit, had made good his own. The difficulty of the situation in being no longer either allowed to love or to complain, a married lady being the cause of his disappointment, is forcibly given, and throughout there is an earnestness of expression which is highly poetical. The poem, like several others, is dated from Knowsley, and is entitled "Wherein is shewed that parting causeth paine." At the conclusion is written—"fyn pr T. Challoner ano: 1577 apud Knowsley pr Anne —," the name being scratched through with a pen.

Since fancie first me fettered
In Cupid's chaine being caught,
Where bewtie brave me bated,
Repulse agaynst awayl'd me naught;
Yet wisdom warn'd me very playne,
To shune the showe that showde in vayne.

My frendes full ofte did warne me still
 In gentle and in angree sort,
 That time at once my love wolde spill,
 And change good will to ill report,
 And wisdomẽ will'd me to refrayne
 The proffers that would prove but vayne.
 If any man wolde aske mee nowe
 How growes the greatest greife that is?
 Let him goe string Sir Cupides bow
 With leave to shoot, & marke to mys;
 And wyne of game eithe shott but one,
 Which only makes the game alone.
 I had the whirlingẽ wynd at will,
 I had all oddes uppon my syde,
 I had the game, the upp shott till,
 I had the upp shott not far wyde,
 Yet lost I all for want of straight,
 Such falsehoode founde my fancies frayghte.
 If that was greife to loose the game,
 And loose as well the fame thereof,
 Say now was fortune not to blame,
 To yelde mee sutchẽ a soddaine scoffe?
 The greatest greife that growes is this
 To part from that wee may not mys.
 Why doithe hee lyve that Longe was deade?
 How doith my fate with fancy frame?
 Why doith dame Nature geave him bread,
 That strainge & falslie chaing'd his name?
 Why did Dame love mee lure thus Longe,
 And suffer tyme to doe mee wronge?
 What meane the maides of fatalls three,
 To drawe sutch length of evill thread?
 Where wisdomẽ now erepteth mee,
 From her whereon I onlie bred,
 Dame tyme in tyme with truth shall try,
 That my true hart shall never wrye.
 What tho' my corps may not Imbrace,
 That hart that myne by justice is?
 My eyes must not behold her face
 What tho' my mynd shall never miss?
 But love I will, who so say naye,
 And love I must, but as I maye.
 I hover still good happ to have,
 & hope the best, whilst yet I lyve,
 God graunt me then the guyfte I crave,
 So shall I have, as I do geave,
 A faythfull hart in pledge of all,
 Welcome to mee as God send shall!

FOURTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 10th February, 1853.

J. W. WHITEHEAD, Esq., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of three Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected:—

R. W. Anderson, 23, Falkner Square, Liverpool.
Pudsey Dawson, Hornby Castle, Lancashire.
Jesse Hartley, Derby Road, Bootle.
John Bernard Hartley, Aigburth.
Robert Platt, Dean Water, Prestbury.
Thomas Wood, Blue Coat Hospital, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

1. From the *Societies*.

Archæologia Cambrensis, No. xiii., second series.

Vol. ii., of the publications of the Chester Architectural Archæological and Historic Society.

The publications of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, for 1852.

2. From the *Author*.

Two copies of a description of Holme's Chapel, Cheshire, by T. W. Barlow, F.L.S.

3. From *other* Donors.

Charles Roach Smith,
F.S.A.

Catalogue of the Kerrich Collection of Roman Coins, now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.

- R. Rawlinson, Esq. Two copies of the Preliminary Report of the Board of Health, respecting Chorley.
- Dr. Kendrick. Lithographs, illustrative of the celebrated Winwick Oak. Its branches extended 29 yards in one direction, and 33 in another ; and 150 gentlemen dined beneath it, on the 26th of August, 1811.
- James Boardman, Esq. Representation of Liverpool in 1600.
- Rev. H. Tudsbury Turner. The Primitive Episcopal Prayer Book, as used in Liverpool.
- John Grindlay, Esq. Gore's Directory for 1777.
- The Globe newspaper for May 5th, 1807.
- Broadside containing despatches of Sep. 12th, 1799.
- A Form of Prayer for the success of His Majesty's Arms, and for Peace, on a General Fast Day, 1780.
- A Form of Prayer used at the General Fast of 28th February, 1794.

The following articles were EXHIBITED :—

- By E. Benn, Esq., of Vauxhall Distillery. A double pointed stone hammer, six inches long.
- A striated stone ball, the size of a melon, supposed to have been used in warfare, at the end of a pole, like the Morning Star of the North.
- By Dr. Kendrick. A bronze axe-head, 6½ inches long.
- A stone malleus, which had been used as a door-weight.
- By R. H. Brackstone, Esq., London. The three-legged Roman pot of bronze, found near Carlisle, and shown some time ago in the Arcade of this town.
- By James Boardman, Esq. Three autograph letters of F. D. Brown, (Mrs. Hemans,) addressed to her earliest patron, Mr. Matthew Nicholson, of Liverpool. They are dated respectively 28th August, 1809, 11th August, 1810, and 17th July, 1811.
- By Major-General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H. A MS. book, thick folio, the property of Lord Crewe.
- By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. A curiously constructed clock with two dials on the front, indicating 60 parts repeated four times ; and a recessed dial marked with

ten divisions, dividing the day into four parts of six hours each. It was made by Tompion, of London, who died during the great plague of 1666.

A very beautiful bronze head, of Greek workmanship, representing Minerva helmeted; it was found near Mayence.

A bronze fibula, found at the Roman camp of Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyne.

A string of coloured beads, found in a Merovingian grave in France.

An illuminated missal of the fourteenth century, ornamented with exquisitely drawn miniatures as its initial letters.

By Dr. Hume.

Ulster Journal of Archæology; 1st number, containing a Review of the Historic Society's fourth volume.

By C. B. Robinson, Esq.

Dr. Blackmore's Poem of Prince Arthur, fol. 1696.

By J. W. Whitehead, Esq.

A piece of copper, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{4}$, with the corners cut off, weighing 6lbs. 4oz., and stamped at the corners and in the centre. It was issued in Sweden by Frederick, after the country had been exhausted of the coin by the wars of Charles XII. It remained in circulation till 1777, when it was decreed that it should pass no longer as coin but be sold for its market value. Pieces of this description were coined of the value of 4, 3, 2, $1\frac{1}{2}$, 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, and $\frac{1}{4}$ a dollar silver currency, the silver dollar being three times the value of a copper dollar.

Also in contrast with this, a Russian copper coin, an English twopenny piece, a farthing, and a half-farthing.

By J. Stonehouse, Esq.

Two figures carved in soft stone, apparently husband and wife, but separate, and very peculiar in their position and ornaments. They appear to be of Maltese workmanship.

A wooden model of a salt factory; plan of a salt district; section of a salt mine; and numerous specimens of salt;—as illustrative of his own paper.

Dr. Hume explained briefly the nature of the book exhibited by Sir E. Cust. It was said to treat of "the Stafford Family in Cheshire," whereas it

referred to the Lords Stafford of Staffordshire; the fortunes of whose family were among the most eventful in history. It was a copy made in the latter years of Queen Elizabeth, of documents which were dated in general in the early years of Henry VIII. Dr. Hume discovered between the leaves, an original letter dated 18th March, 1614, written by a steward or factor to a gentleman named Offley, a paternal ancestor of Lord Crewe, who then possessed part of the Stafford estates. In it he refers to this very book, then well known, for a true copy of certain patents and grants.

Dr. Hume also read one of the letters of F. D. Brown (Mrs. Hemans).

A communication was read from Thomas Moore, sen., Esq., mentioning with regret the demolition of certain family pews, in the recent alterations of St. Nicholas' Church. From time immemorial they had belonged to the Bank-Hall Estate, and were specially mentioned in the deed of conveyance to the Earl of Derby, in 1724.

The Diploma which Mr. Mayer holds as Honorary Member of an Antiquarian Society in France having been shown by the Secretary, it was resolved unanimously, that the Council be directed to procure a design for a Diploma for the Historic Society.

PAPERS.

I.—SALT, AND ITS MANUFACTURE IN CHESHIRE.

By James Stonehouse.

As there is scarcely any article in common use which presents itself to notice in so many interesting points of view as the simple but precious mineral salt, and as it enters so generally into our food, and is of such value for manufacturing as well as agricultural purposes, it may not be considered undeserving of our particular attention, especially as the neighbouring county from which part of the title of our Society is taken, is famous throughout the world for its brine pits, salt mines, and works.

We find in the Bible that salt is spoken of frequently. In Genesis xix., 26, it is first introduced to notice in the fate of Lot's wife. In Leviticus ii., 13, where meat offerings are spoken of, it is a special command that salt should be used. "And every oblation of thy meat offering shalt thou season with salt: neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the Covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meat offering. With all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt." Salt is also referred to as symbolical of barrenness, alluding to the salt plains on the desert, where no grass is to be found growing, or, if appearing, in a very impoverished state.

The Greeks held salt like the Israelites in high estimation—they mixed it up with cakes used in their religious ceremonies and at their sacrificial altars.

In the 9th Book of the *Iliad*, line 282, we find it spoken of as "sacred salt." The term "sacred" or "divine" arose no doubt from its property in arresting dissolution and preventing corruption. Lycophron, the Greek poet, says, "Thou must reverence the sea;" and this is thought to be the reason why Venus is said to have sprung from the ocean.

The Romans freely made use of salt. Horace and other writers frequently allude to it. Salt was considered efficacious in all cases of infectious disorders, and was applied by sprinkling brine with an olive branch, wherever contagion prevailed.

Thus, in salt used by the ancients two remarkable circumstances present themselves to our notice. One, that Jews, Greeks, and Romans, considered it of such importance that they used it alike in all their religious ceremonies; while in the custom of the Romans employing it where contagion and death had been present, we trace perhaps the origin of placing a plate of salt on the breast of a corpse as a powerful antiseptic.

Besides being regarded as sacred, salt was esteemed as a symbol of endurance and attachment by the people of yore, as well as a sign of compact, no doubt from its indestructibility. It was considered that when once a guest had partaken of salt beneath a roof, his person was inviolate however he might abuse the trust confided in him. Mr. Lane in his translation of "The Thousand and One Nights," gives a curious illustration of the reverence of the Easterns towards the eating of salt in another man's house. In this case, a robber had penetrated into the palace of Dirhem the Governor of Seestan, and in the dark, having tasted a piece of salt which he had picked up from the floor, he actually withdrew without his booty, from his regard to the rites of hospitality and custom.

We are told by De la Beche that salt in its mineral state is not found in the oldest stratified rocks, but that it appears in all the most recent formations. Here is a remarkable instance of the goodness of the Almighty, demonstrating his thoughtfulness of man in providing for his wants. Before man's creation, in the world's earliest infancy, we may suppose that salt was not necessary, but knowing man's need for it, it appeared at the

necessary time. Salt seems to be found everywhere: in the bowels of the earth, on the mountain top, and in the wide waste of the ever-rolling waters. In Peru we find it 7000 feet above the sea. In Cheshire we find it 330 feet below the earth's surface. In Karamania, where the air is highly rarefied and dry, the people use salt in blocks, with which they build their houses. The Island of Ormus, in the Persian Gulf, is said to be composed of one entire mass of salt. Laborde describes the appearance of a mountain, near Cardona, in Spain, which is nearly all salt, to be one of the most magnificent spectacles the eye of man can rest upon, when illuminated by the morning sun. This mountain is 500 feet high. There are extensive salt mines near Burgos. At Wielitska, near Cracow, the mines have been constantly worked for five hundred years; in fact, Cracow itself rests upon salt mines. At one place in Syria, Fuller tells us, salt is manufactured so beautifully white that he calls the locality "the Nantwich of Palestine." The salt mines of Hallein chiefly supply Upper Austria, the Tyrol, and Western Bohemia. Those of Gallicia, Hungary, and Transylvania, supply the remaining portion of the Empire. Scotland cannot boast of salt formations; and it was thought, until very lately, that Ireland was also destitute in this particular; but recent discoveries have shown that there is a very valuable, and as it is supposed, extensive rock salt deposit at Carrickfergus, on the estate of the Marquis of Downshire.

In America there are several places where there are extensive salt deposits. They are found in Arkansas; on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, in the Alleghany mountains, and in the valley of the Ohio and the Missouri. The salt works at Onondaga are the most profitable in the States. The brine springs of America are very numerous, and are called "Salt Licks," or "Deer Licks," from the numbers of deer and other animals resorting periodically to them. Animals generally are passionately fond of salt. Sheep particularly relish it. Birds have also a strong predilection for it. Pigeons may be attached to any place where they can have free access to it. At the Deer Licks, flocks of these birds are constantly seen hovering. In the *Monthly Magazine* for 1810, it is stated that the celebrated Cheltenham springs were actually discovered by the resorting of numerous flocks of doves to the spot. It was thought at one period that Africa was utterly without salt deposits, but there have been lately discoveries, beyond Caffraria, of one or two large salt lakes. There are also salt deposits on both sides of the Atlas mountains. In Abyssinia, travellers speak of a salt plain of

"four days' journey." Mungo Park, however, and other travellers, remark upon the scarcity and even absence of salt in the parts of Africa which they explored. Park in particular notices its rarity in one district or region, so as to become subject for a saying when a man's station in life was mentioned; if he were wealthy, that "he eats salt with his food," and Park also says that he has seen "children sucking a piece of salt as a luxurious dainty, as one of our children would a piece of sugar-candy."

While we find salt presented to us in its mineral state, we must for one instant turn to the boundless ocean, which were it not for its saltiness and its restlessness would become a curse instead of a blessing to mankind. That the sea is saltier in some parts than others is a well-known fact. Its saltiness is much less towards the poles than it is under the equator. The Southern ocean contains more salt than the Northern in the ratio of 102919, to 102757 where the sea is deepest and most remote from the land, while its saltiness is diminished where there are great masses of ice. Inland seas, though communicating with the ocean, are much less charged with saline matter than the open ocean, but the Mediterranean is said to contain rather more salt than the ocean. The sea is also saltier at the top than at the bottom; and this is established by the fact that if a bottle hermetically sealed be lowered to a great depth it will be brought up full of pure water, or water nearly so. The average strength of salt in sea water may be estimated as one-thirtieth of its own weight.

Dr. Halley has endeavoured to account for the saltiness of the sea by ascribing it to the soluble substances which are incessantly washed into it by rivers, which, he states, in their utmost purity nevertheless contain some portion of saline matter. The watery parts being constantly evaporated add to the density of the briny portions, the latter not being a volatile subject, the stock is being constantly added to. Other scientific men imagine that as in the earth there are large deposits of salt, so at the bottom of the ocean there are also immense tracts of salt formations, which by continual washings contribute to the briny state of the ocean. The mode of making salt from sea water in places where only brine-springs exist, may now be briefly mentioned. As may be supposed, salt is largely extracted from the ocean yearly. By reason of slow solar evaporation the crystals from sea water are much larger than those produced by the agency of artificial heat. Sea or Bay salt is also considered stronger and purer than salt from a mineral spring. As early as the 12th century abbey were endowed with salt works.

Holyrood was endowed by David I. It had salt pans at Airth, near the head of the Firth of Forth, where the remains of some salt pans still, I believe, exist. The mode of making it was greatly improved in the time of Queen Mary. Mary brought over with her in her train from France some French salt makers, to whom she granted an exclusive right to manufacture it, and who introduced some important and improved methods in so doing. These privileges they enjoyed until the time of Charles II.* At one period there were in the Firth of Forth and the Solway, at Ruthwell, numerous salt works, where the manufacture was extensively carried on. It was calculated that about 1,300 gallons of sea water produced from 16 to 20 bushels of salt, of 56 lbs. each, every twenty-four hours. The downfall of the Scotch manufacture may be attributed to two causes. It received on two occasions deadly blows—one at the Union, which may be said to have prostrated it—the other on the repeal of the duty, which annihilated it while in that condition.

The best sea salt is brought from St. Ubes, in Portugal, a specimen of which is exhibited. It is of great purity and strength. There is not much brought to this country, the low price of salt here giving no encouragement to shippers.

The mode of manufacturing sea or "bay salt," as it is called, is nearly every where as follows. The ground near the sea is banked up to prevent its being overflowed at high water. The space between the walls is divided into compartments which successively communicate with each other. At flood tide, the first compartment is filled with sea water. Here it is allowed to remain until the impurities have settled: the water is then run off into another tank, and here as in the first instance, the aqueous portions of the fluid are evaporated. After remaining some time the liquor is again run off into another but shallower compartment lined with clay well rammed down. At this stage of the process, the water is brought to such a state that from the solar evaporation which has taken place, a crust

* The rich salt mines of Cheshire, which have added so much to the commercial prosperity of Liverpool since the river Weaver was rendered navigable, and since the coal-fields of Lancashire were connected with the salt district of Cheshire, had little effect in promoting that prosperity in the time of the Stuarts. Owing to the dearth of fuel in the heart of Cheshire, and the difficulty of getting the salt down to the coast, the foreign salt-trade scarcely existed in Cheshire. It was then confined to Newcastle-on-Tyne, and those parts of the valley of the Forth where the coal strata reach the sea. In 1635 Sir William Brereton, whose family was engaged in the salt-trade, visited Newcastle, and has recorded that there was more salt made there than at any place in England—*Baines*.

has been formed on the surface, which is then broken by the workmen and raked to the sides, with wooden rakes. On some of the coasts of France, and also of China, salt is produced from sea sand steeped in salt water, after which it is evaporated in boilers. In Holland there are many extensive salt works or refineries. The principal are to be found near Zwynrecht, near Dort. Vast quantities of rock salt are annually shipped from Liverpool for the use of these works. The amount may be taken at 20,000 tons. Last year a great alteration was made in the management of the excise duty on salt in Holland, in consequence of the frauds perpetrated. Rock salt can now be bonded and taken out when required by the refiner, by paying a duty of 9 gueldres 11 cents per 100 Netherlands' pounds, that is £7 10s. per ton of 20 cwt. Some years ago, there were twenty-nine salt works at Lymington in Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight, where sea salt was evaporated by solar evaporation, as well as by fire. In some parts of France, where brine springs are to be found, the salt is manufactured in a peculiar way. In Bakewell's travels in Tarentaine a full account of the process is given. Another process is described by Bakewell as invented by a Savoyard named Battel, in which the concentrative process is exhibited by an arrangement of cords, down which the brine runs from troughs, falling drop by drop. In Russia, salt is obtained by freezing the sea water. The ice being removed, the brine remains in a highly concentrated state, and it is then evaporated by boiling; the brine solution separating as it were into two parts, the pure water becoming solid ice, and the salt water remaining in a liquid state.

The saline springs spread over England are very numerous; the greater part of them are however of a medicinal nature, and in most cases they do not yield a sufficient body of salt to remunerate any one to manufacture from them, especially those in parts where fuel is expensive, from remoteness to the coal districts.

The manufacture of salt in Cheshire is of very remote date. We find by the earliest historical records that when the Romans obtained a footing in Britain and overran this part of it, they found the ancient Britons manufacturing salt by pouring brine upon faggots of charcoal, from which they scraped off the crystals as they formed. The Gauls and Germans also made it this way; and it is a very singular circumstance that amongst some barbarous nations of the present day the same process is in operation. We have proof that this was the practice of the ancient Britons, because por-

tions of charred wood, with the crystals attached thereto, are said to have been dug up in great quantities in the neighbourhood of Nantwich, which, in the Roman time, was a great place for the manufacture of salt. And these faggots, or pieces of charred wood, exhibited the marks of antiquity, while corroborative circumstances proved their origin and use. The salt produced by this very primitive plan was of course very dirty and discoloured, being mixed with ashes and other impurities. When the Britons observed the mode of their Roman conquerors, and noticed its obvious superiority, they at once abandoned their own mode and adopted it, calling the salt so produced from its whiteness "Heleddwen." It is somewhat remarkable that since the time of the Romans, little or no alteration has taken place in the manner of manufacturing the article. Within the last twenty-five years, there have been many attempts made to increase the the quantity made from the quantity of fuel consumed, but no other way of obtaining salt has been discovered except by evaporation.

Nantwich was evidently held in considerable esteem for its brine springs by the ancient Britons, who called it Hellath-Wen, or the place of the White Brine Pit. Northwich was called Hellath-du, or the Black Brine Pit. Camden says that in his time the Wallers drew up the brine from a pit in leathern buckets. The access to the pit was by a flight of stone steps. He says that "the Northwich brine is sharp and strong beyond any other." At one period at Nantwich there were some persons in authority, termed the *Rulers of Walling*—they were annually elected by the jury out of the most substantial occupiers of Walling, who were the guardians of the salt springs, and entrusted to set the price of salt and to limit the times of making according to known customs, which they were sworn to uphold. These *rulers of Walling* had authority "to order an equal division of the brine to the several owners of the Wich-houses; rooms for stowage of wood were provided even to an inch; they were to have a continual care and circumspection, lest these pits should be deprived of any old rites and duties, or that the salt springs should receive mixture or prejudice from fresh springs, or other nuisances; all which and more is included in the term Walling." The Romans also manufactured salt to a considerable extent at Northwich. The road formed there by these industrious people gave great facilities for its transport into the interior.

The word "wich," which we find so frequently appended to the names

of towns* is Saxon, and signifies "salt," showing that salt has been at some time or another made thereabout.

In the time of the Saxon Heptarchy, the salt springs of Cheshire and Worcestershire were in operation; the King and Earl Edwin divided between them the toll levied upon all salt made. Of this toll the king took two-thirds, the Earl one-third. Hence we have the term now in use of "Royalty Rent," which is a rent, however, not now paid to the king, but to the owners of Brine Springs; these supply the manufacturers who have no springs of their own. The royalty rent at Winsford is 6d. per ton, subject besides to a ground rent for the land. Lord Stanley charges 1s. per ton to his tenants. The ground rent ranges from £150 to £200 per annum. Earl Edwin appears to have possessed large salt works at Aghton, whence he supplied his household free of toll. But on all salt sold and carried away, the toll was duly exacted and paid. Matthew Paris says that "when Henry III. waged war with the Welsh, he stopped the manufacture of the salt works in Cheshire, nor allowed them to be used again until the war was over."

In Domesday Book the toll upon salt is mentioned as a considerable item of revenue, indeed, it is somewhat remarkable that in most countries where salt is made, it is set up as a sort of governmental milch cow, from which a fruitful source of profit may be derived. We find that the Romans paid a heavy duty upon salt, as well as other nations of antiquity. In Germany, and indeed all over the continent, the saline cow is well milked. In India, the revenue which the East India Company derives from the salt duty and from its manufacture, is enormous. By one return it is shewn that, in the ten years from 1835 to 1845, the receipts were from £900,000 to a million sterling, annually. In this country, from 1796 to 1825 we had a saline cow of our own which yielded a duty of, at first in 1796, 12s. per bushel or £20 per ton. This duty was raised in 1806 to 15s. per bushel or £30 per ton, and so it continued until 1825, when this obnoxious impost was totally repealed. In 1801 Mr. Vansittart devoted much attention to the repeal of the salt duties. At that time a committee was granted to enquire into the subject. This committee reported the salt duties as being highly detrimental and demoralizing to the public, to a degree far exceeding the value of the payment of the tax itself. In 1816 another movement was made,

* Leland says salt at one time was manufactured at Shotwick, near Neston, and that it should be spelt Shotwich. If salt were made here, it could only be by evaporation from sea water as at Garston.

and considerable agitation took place on the subject, especially in this town. As before stated, the tax was not removed until 1825. The subject of the Indian salt trade is one so closely connected with the interests of Liverpool, that it is to be regretted that space will not admit of ample information being given relative to it. It will be remembered that next year the Charter of the East India Company will have to be renewed, and it remains to be seen whether the Cheshire salt makers, the merchants of Liverpool, and the manufacturers of Manchester and elsewhere, will submit to the present iniquitous monopoly, which, while it shuts out British interests in India, stands in the way like a wall of adamant against progress, and the best wishes and hopes of philanthropists. The salt monopoly is frightful in its tendencies, and calls aloud for entire abolition. The poor and oppressed natives of India, who although only earning, as some of them do, 36s. a year, have actually to pay 2d. per lb. for salt; an article so conducive to health and necessary to human life. The salt monopoly of India keeps down the spirit of improvement in the native Indian, and prevents him from progressing in intellect with the rest of the world. This may seem a strange assertion to make, but it can readily be proved. While we allow to the European from 18 lbs. to 22 lbs. of salt per year, as necessary, the native of Hindostan can procure but 12 lbs. as computed by the Board of Salt itself, and when it is considered how insipid is the food used in India, and the only sort procurable by these poor people, we may readily believe that salt must be of vital importance to make that insipid food palatable. The East India Company, with a sort of fictitious show of philanthropy, regulates the price of salt so that the native shall not be overcharged and cheated. This supposititious tenderness can be exemplified both by facts and figures.

In Domesday Book three places are mentioned as producing great quantities of salt in Cheshire, viz :—Wich in Warmendstrew hundred or Nantwich, *Aliud Wich* in Middlewich hundred, that is Middlewich, and Norwich or Northwich in the hundred of that name.

In the time of Edward the Confessor the Nantwich salt springs were farmed out at 21s. When Hugh Lupus took possession of this part of the country, there was only one salt pit in operation, which was granted to William Malvedery, Baron of Nantwich, at a rent of £10, although the whole hundred was valued at only 22s.

In Leland's time, 1544, the Nantwich works seem to have been flourish-

ing, as he says that, "Wherefore there be at Nanptwich one brine spring so abundant, that there be 111 salters." It seems that in his time the brine was evaporated in lead pans, the fire being raised by what was called "wich wood," of which there were large plantations in the vicinity, whence the owners of such plantations derived a goodly revenue. In King's Vale Royal, which was written in 1656 by Daniel King, we find the following stated, "that Robert Needham had found out a *Seth* (that is, a brine pit) by the Weaver at Boddington, and on the other side in the lands of Sir Thomas Smith, in the lordship of Hatherton, whence they have taken a more profitable way of making salt, in pans of iron to which they put coals, the common fewel of the country. By this the salt is made cheaper than by using lead pans with wood fewel, which old way, notwithstanding, the boilers in the wiches will maintain to be the best." We also find a further description written by William Smith, who was Rouge Dragon Poursuivant, "Here at this town (Nantwich) is great store of white salt made: it hath one salt spring (which they call a brine pit) standing hard upon the Weaver, from whence they carry the brine to the wich houses, saving such houses as stand on the other side of the river. Within the said houses are great barrels set deep into the earth which are all filled with salt water, and when the bell ringeth they begin to make fire under the leads. Every house, that is wich house, hath six leads, wherein they seethe the said salt water, and as it seethes, the wallers (which are commonly women) do with a wooden rake gather the salt from the bottom, which they put into a long basket of wicker, which they call a salt barrow, and so the water voideth and the salt remaineth."

Connected with the salt trade of old, there were many rights and privileges which I dare not, for time's sake, enlarge upon. But at Middlewich it seems, at one period, the purchasers from the other hundreds had the toll upon salt doubled, and any one overloading his cart so that the axle-tree or his horse's back broke, was fined 2s., if either gave way within one mile of the spring. Religious observances were not wanting either, in connexion with the making of salt, for amongst other ceremonies and customs which were prevalent of old, we find that on Ascension day a procession was formed to a prolific spring called "*The Biat*," near Nantwich, when the spring head was decorated with flowers, and a prayer offered up for a continued plentiful flowing of the brine, as well as a hymn of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the bygone profitable supply. This ceremony

was called "the Blessing of the Brine." The custom of blessing the brine may have had its origin in some old Roman or Saxon ceremonies handed down to us, somewhat altered from the originals, but still bearing traces of them in some of its features. The Germans, in some parts, have an idea that a prayer offered up at a brine spring is certain of being acceptable. Nor are we of this day free from superstition respecting salt, as the act of spilling it is considered to be very unlucky. The ancient and well-known custom of placing the salt at table to mark the station of those assembled round the hospitable board, requires only a mere allusion to it. Amongst many curious superstitions relating to salt, a little of it sprinkled on the cover of an old bible is considered a certain protection against evil spirits. In Scotland, in some parts, it is considered necessary to ensure good luck on entering a new house or fresh tenanting an old one, to strew the floors with salt. Many Scotch people have a notion that eating too much salt has a tendency to darken the complexion. There are many other curious customs and superstitions connected with it.

The salt works scattered over the United Kingdom may be thus enumerated :—In Cheshire there are 60, Staffordshire 2, Worcestershire 13, Durham 2, and Lancashire 1. These 78 works produce annually 800,000 tons of salt. The pannage may be calculated at 100,000 feet, and the amount of money invested in the machinery, pans, flats, barges, &c., may be estimated at one and a half millions sterling, while employment is provided for upwards of 6,000 men. The value of the Cheshire salt works may be reckoned at £500,000. Of the salt manufactured in England, one-half is exported to the United States, the Canadas, the Baltic, and the fisheries in the north of Ireland and Scotland. The remainder is consumed for household purposes, alkali works, manufacturing and agricultural purposes.*

It is said that the Tyne alone absorbs 70,000 tons yearly, in its alkali works.

The total quantity of salt made at Winsford in 1851, was 331,657 tons; in 1852, 358,456½ tons. At Northwich in 1851, 283,013 tons; and in 1852, 232,957 tons; making a total in the last year of 591,413½ tons.

* It may be briefly mentioned that Napier, the inventor of logarithms, two centuries ago suggested the use of salt as a manure, and strangely enough, about the same period, 1596, King James of Scotland threatened to destroy Edinburgh and sow it with salt, as a punishment to the inhabitants for their riotous behaviour.

Of this quantity, about 500,000 tons are brought to Liverpool yearly for shipment. Now when we consider this large quantity passing as it were through our hands, the salt trade may be considered as one of no small importance to the port of Liverpool; affording, not only employment to numbers of men, but also to the shipping of the port.

The salt trade as carried on at present cannot be said to be a remunerative one. The mode of making salt is so simple, and comparatively speaking, requires so little capital, that the manufacture of it is in many hands, and these must go on producing and selling, or stop their works. The consequence is, that more salt is forced into the market than can be profitably disposed of, and, it is a fact, that frequently rock salt has been at a higher price than the manufactured article; for this reason, that the proprietors of the rock mines being few in number, have been enabled to agree amongst themselves as to the quantity to be delivered, according to the demand, so that a remunerative price for the raw material could be obtained. When the duty was levied on Salt, as it was paid at the seat of manufacture, it required a large capital to carry on the business, the trade was therefore in fewer hands, and consequently highly profitable. To shew the amount of available capital that must have been required, it may be instanced, that one party alone paid £33,000 duty in the course of six weeks. When the duty was levied it was paid at the works, and the salt was re-weighed at Liverpool under Excise supervision, if the flat weighed short the proprietor had to make up the deficiency, and if over, that overplus salt was seized.

From a statement shewn me by a gentleman connected with this trade, I find that some of the present Cheshire salt works have been in existence thirty, forty, fifty, and sixty years, while one work dates one hundred years back. A curious record that would be, which would shew the "ups" and "downs" the trade has suffered during this period.

A salt work may be thus briefly described. It consists, first, of a reservoir, into which the brine is pumped from the spring. Secondly, there are the pans, into which the brine is conveyed by means of pipes from the reservoir. Thirdly, the furnaces which heat the brine. Fourthly, hot houses for stoving the salt; and, fifthly, store houses for storing the salt, previous to its being transmitted to its destination. The average size of a salt pan is 40 feet long, 24 feet wide, and 15 inches deep. A salt work

of average extent, will produce about 250 tons of salt per week, each pan turning out 25 tons per week, and requiring the attendance of two men, who are paid at the rate of 2s. 9d. per day. At Northwich there may be about 1,500 men employed, of whom three-fourths work the day through, and one-fourth the night. It is somewhat curious, that in seething the brine, at times the crystals will not form. In this case, the workmen throw into the pan a little oil (at one time butter was used,) or calves' feet reduced to a jelly. This oleaginous application immediately spreads over the surface of the pan, and a scum arises which appears to be the result of a purification of the brine, as after this scum is taken off, the crystals commence forming. I may here remark, that salt is always found in cubes, even in its most minute particles, as may be observed in the specimens now exhibited. There are three or four kinds of salt made. Bay salt is very large grained. This is made by slow evaporation at a temperature of 110 degrees. Common salt, which is coarse grained, is produced at a heat of 175 degrees. Stoved, or fine table salt, at 220 degrees. The last description of salt is put into boxes from the pans, whence it is transferred to stoves, and there consolidated and dried in the course of five or six days.

It is a most interesting and curious sight to see the salt forming into crystals at the top of the brine. They commence in small cubes, and gradually increase, until their density carries them to the bottom of the pan. The residuum at the bottom of the pan, which causes great wear and tear, is a hard crust called pan scratch or pan bake. As the salt forms and falls, it is raked to the sides of the pans, and piled on to the barrows, as they are called, at the sides, where it is allowed to drain; which drainage is not wasted, as by means of pipes the brine returns to the pans, where it is again put under process of evaporation. After the salt has been sufficiently drained, it is removed to the stove house, and stoved according to quality and texture.

The brine at Northwich and Winsford is considered to be of the best quality. It is charged with saline matter to the amount of 25 per cent. of its own weight. The brine is found at a depth of 150 feet, and occasionally flows within 40 feet of the surface. The coal used at the Cheshire works is from Wigan and St. Helens, and is termed "Burgey," and costs the manufacturer 8s. per ton. On the return of the flats from Liverpool, they call at St. Helens Gap Railway, and there load with coal. The Wigan coal is brought from that district in canal boats, which return loaded

with salt inland to Manchester and elsewhere. The quantity of coal used in the manufacture of salt may be taken in these proportions:—two tons of coal to produce three tons of fine or table salt, and one ton of coal to produce two tons of common salt. In the manufacture of salt, it is quite obvious that the more salt that can be produced by the employment of any given quantity of coal, the more profitable must be that manufacture. The prices of salt may now be estimated at 3s. 6d. per ton for rock salt, 6s. and 7s. for common salt, 10s. and 11s. per ton for stoved or fine, and 18s. for bay. This is exclusive of the freight upon salt sent to Liverpool, which is 8s. per ton, and which sum is thus divided. The Weaver dues, for the use of the navigation are 1s. per ton, of this a word or two presently. The master of the flat takes 1s. 3d. for working the flat. Out of this he pays the wages of one man and a boy, and haulage from Weston Point to Northwich or Winsford. To Northwich the charge is 15s. for a horse, and 5s. for a man to assist. If a gang of men are employed, they are paid at the rate of 5s. per man. As with the hauling by horse, the amount covers the trip to Northwich and back. The passage, or voyage if it may be so termed, occupies upon an average, going up light, five and a half hours, while eight or nine hours are occupied in the downward journey. The passage from Runcorn to Liverpool occupies three or four hours. Returning light, of course less time. The further the distance up the Weaver, necessarily the cost of haulage is greater. Having thus accounted for 2s. 3d. of the freight, it remains only to be said that the 9d. balance is paid to the flat owner for the use of his barge.

So intimately connected is the river Weaver with the salt manufacture, that a word or two must be said upon it. Along the whole of its course, or nearly so, and that of its tributary, the Wheelock, there are numberless brine springs, which being found close to the banks, enable the proprietors of works to ship their produce without the expense of land carriage. It may here be remarked, that there is not a more interesting excursion to take in this vicinity, than a trip to Northwich in the summer time, to inspect the salt works and mines in that neighbourhood, and return to Liverpool by the Weaver navigation. The Weaver meanders through a pretty country, which everywhere presents to view, sweet landscapes, and pastoral scenes of great beauty. The eye meets with cottage and farm, garden, orchard, and corn field, with here and there rich

pastures studded with the herd and fold ; while constantly may be seen shining in the glorious sunlight, the large red or white sail of some distant flat, as it threads its way through the tortuous windings of the little sparkling river. Then we have constantly falling on the ear, the pleasant country sounds of distant village chimes, the songs of birds, and the cheerful voices of the haulers as they pursue their toilsome occupation. Master Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, highly extols the medicinal qualities of the Weaver, and states that it is the resort of the sea gods and nereids when they are sick.

The river Weaver, although of small extent, is so to speak, a mine of wealth to the county of Chester. It is one instance of the most profitable navigation in the world. From its dues, different parts of the county of Chester have been enriched with noble buildings, religious edifices, country halls, and public works. It is mentioned elsewhere, that 1s. per ton of the salt freight is paid to the Weaver navigation. Of this the manufacturers do not complain, because in point of fact they do not pay it. It is paid by the Liverpool merchants, who are repaid by their customers in the price obtained for the salt. But the manufacturers complain bitterly of having to pay 1s. per ton upon all coals brought up to the works, and this has been a subject of repeated public discussion and agitation, while efforts have constantly been made to induce the trustees of the navigation to remit this obnoxious duty.

We now come to the consideration of rock salt, or salt in its natural state. The county of Chester in this vicinity, seems to rest upon an immense tract of salt formation. It would appear in this case, as in others in different parts of the world, that there has been at one time an immense brine or salt lake left by the waters as they retired, and the continent appeared. Here as elsewhere, we find a ring as it were, of hills or high lands about the salt deposits. The solar heat, of greater intensity perhaps then, than it is at present, evaporated the aqueous particles of the briny lake, while mysterious volcanic agencies assisted in forming for man a mineral of such value, profit, and importance. But who shall speak authoritatively, and say at this time, or that, these mighty deposits took place. Or how long were they in so consolidating into such Titanic masses? It is with bated breath, and something like a feeling of awe, that we even think of that period so long ago, when the young stars sung to

a newly forming world. The mineral, or rock salt, was discovered by accident, while sinking a brine pit at Marbury in 1670, and it was again found in 1779, at Witton on the Weaver. Northwich and Winsford rest entirely upon rock salt. The former town is almost built over it. The salt formation extends a mile and a half N.E. and S.W., and about 1,400 yards in the opposite direction. In other directions its extent is not known. Occasionally the rock gives way and causes a frightful sinking of the earth, by which buildings are shaken, roads destroyed, and much destruction of property takes place. The river Weaver has been, in some cases, much enlarged in its course by this subsidence of the rock. Leland mentions "that a mile from Comber Abbey, a meadow sank suddenly, and with it a peace of a hille having trees upon it, and after that there was a pitte of salt water, and the Abbate began to make salt, but the men of the wicks complaining, compounded with the Abbate that there should be no more salt made." This pit was no doubt formed from the wasting away of the rock by the water washing under it. The brine springs are found not only on the top of the rock, but under it, and I have been told, that in some mines the water can be heard rushing like a torrent. There are two rock pits at Winsford, which deliver 3,000 to 4,000 tons; the Northwich mines, 40,000 to 50,000 tons annually.

Rock salt is found at a depth of 100 to 150 feet below the surface. The stratum is about 75 feet in thickness. Next to the rock salt is a stratum of brown or earthy stone of 30 feet in thickness, and then below this there is a salt deposit of 75 feet in thickness. The lower deposit is the only one worked at the present period, and the average depth of the workings is not more than 15 feet. The depth of the shaft to the lower mine is about 330 feet. The old way of boring the mine was by puddling the sides and casing them with wood as the men went down, but now iron cylinders are used. The water is pumped up from the first or top brine spring to prevent its flooding the mine below. There are two or more shafts to each mine. On looking down the yawning mouth of a rock pit, it certainly does require some nerve, in any one unused to such a style of locomotion, to descend 330 feet in a bucket. The entrance to the mine is roofed over; and from a lofty pulley there is suspended a ponderous chain, to the end of which the bucket or tub, used to bring the rock up to the surface, is appended. Each bucket will hold about two tons of rock salt. There is a sliding platform over the mouth of the pit, which is withdrawn

when the bucket is in motion. On being drawn to the surface, the bucket rests upon the platform, and is thence wheeled away to the barge or flat waiting to be loaded. The miners find their way about very easily. The mine is dry at the bottom, and the work is not of an unhealthy nature, nor so liable to danger as in the coal mine. A mine fully lit up is an extraordinary sight, the gigantic pillars supporting the roof have some resemblance to sugar-candy. There are railways running from the workings to the mouth of the pit. The rock salt is detached by blasting. The temperature of a mine is about 53 degrees. There are at present 23 mines in Cheshire—the quantity of rock salt brought to the surface averages about 100,000 tons annually. The cost of machinery in these mines may be estimated at £500,000.

It must not be forgotten in closing this paper that in 1703 Liverpool was famous for producing white salt. The salt works stood in Orford Street, near the south-east corner of the Salthouse Dock, which takes its name from their vicinity. It is a notable circumstance, as showing the indestructibility of salt, that a well, now existing, or which did exist within the last two or three years, on the site of these works in Orford Street, and which was in use when they were in operation, is so strongly impregnated with saline matter as to be useless for ordinary purposes.

The Liverpool works were removed to Garston under the same proprietorship—that of the Messrs. Blackburne. At the Garston Works, the proportion of rock salt used is 15 tons to 45 tons of sea water, to produce 13 tons of fine or table salt.

The following tabular statements show certain statistics connected with the subject :—

I.—Quantities of Rock Salt and White Salt sent down the River Weaver.

Years.	White Salt.		Rock Salt.		Total.
	Tons.		Tons.		Tons.
1846	436,259		103,043		539,302
1847	523,004		98,311		621,315
1848	590,571		108,829		699,400
1849	614,670		81,419		696,089
1850	524,098		86,238		610,336
1851	487,720		81,103		568,823
1852	625,458		74,466		699,924

II.—Salt Exported from Liverpool during Ten Years.

Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.
1841	380,813	1847	472,779
1842	384,231	1848	522,112
1843	462,840	1849	454,648
1844	429,131	1850	445,632
1845	431,155	1851	552,294
1846	412,361	1852	568,077

III.—EXPORTS OF WHITE SALT.

Year.	First Quarter.	Second Quarter.	Third Quarter.	Fourth Quarter.	Total.
1843	79169	127107	120867	98011	425144
1844	74000	126428	123299	81796	405523
1845	66541	114334	122962	101975	405812
1846	72774	95650	130138	92862	391424
1847	106123	134624	146865	85835	473447
1848	81600	150355	170440	126156	528551
1849	127145	156750	149038	103460	536388
1850	110311	129054	97361	91614	428340
1851	73014	151407	146516	112175	483112
1852	93805	134585	146830	112134	487354

IV.—EXPORTED TO

Year.	Europe.	United States and B. America.	Ireland, Coastwise, Jersey &c	Other Parts.	Total.
1843	86612	175228	148372	14932	425144
1844	86353	166436	136984	15750	405523
1845	86818	141482	136950	40562	405812
1846	97427	129715	142111	22171	391424
1847	108966	198939	126491	44051	473447
1848	124505	226966	142635	34445	528551
1849	105172	240913	141320	48983	536388
1850	84137	180716	102807	60680	428340
1851	84024	211481	107282	80325	483112
1852	85923	242025	102796	56610	487354

Those who wish for further information on the subject, I refer to Ormerod's *Cheshire*, Transactions of the Geological Society, vol. i., page 46, old series, and to a learned and elaborate paper by Mr. Ormerod, which will be found in the 4th vol., page 462, of the same society's publications; Aikin's *Dict of Chemistry*, vol. ii., page 118; Holland's *Agriculture of Cheshire*; Dr. Henry's *Philosophical Transactions*, 1810; Furnival's *History of the Wharton and Marston Works*; Dr. Brown's *Art of Making Salt*, 1768; Dr. Jackson's *Philosophical Transactions*; Camden's *Britannia*; Leland's *Itinerary*; King's *Vale Royal*, &c.

II.—EIGHT LETTERS RELATING TO CHESHIRE, OF THE TIME OF ELIZABETH
AND JAMES I.

By Thomas Dorning Hibbert, Esq.

The following eight letters, with two already published in vol. IV., of the Society's Proceedings, &c., form a most interesting series, and extend over a space of more than twenty-two years, the date of the earliest being prior to 1587, while the latest is 1609. They are, with the exception of one, all written by William Bateman to various members of his family. His father, John Bateman, was an Alderman of Macclesfield. He had two sons, Thomas and William, and a daughter "Katren." Thomas, his son and heir, was a yeoman and chapman in Macclesfield, residing close to the Mottersheads. While in business, he seems to have been in the habit of visiting London occasionally, probably to purchase goods. After his failure in business he gave much trouble to his family. His wife's name was Ann, and they appear to have had no children.

William, the second son, was educated at Oxford, and from the first of the following letters it would seem that he was ordained by the Bishop of Gloucester about the year 1587. He did not marry till late in life, and probably his wife was Mrs. Holt, with whom he boarded. She was the widow of one of the Holts of Stoke Lyne, county Oxford, a gentle family, who appear in the visitation of Oxfordshire in 1574. They were a branch of the Holts of Grysellant, county Lancaster.

The daughter Katren, married a Mr. Evans, by whom she had a son and daughter.

The letter of William Bateman of earliest date, printed vol. IV., p. 196, alludes to the death of his mother, the putting out of his sister Katren to service in consequence, and the intention of his father to marry a second time—from which he attempts to dissuade him. The father did marry however, as the first of these letters shows, in 1587. His death took place in 1601, as may be seen by the fifth letter.

I. To his Lovinge Brother
 Thomas Bateman at
 Maxfield
 these with Speede
 Jesus.

Brother Thomas my commendations remembered unto you your

wife and all other our kinsfolkes and friendes. I desire you to commend me unto my parents, though my mother be as yeat unknowne. I trust in God hereafter we shall be better acquainted, and I request you to desire them both to have me daily in their prayers and the very same dealing I wish both of you, and my sister, and God willing I myseff will do the like towards you all, for your great courtesy offered unto me. I give you hearty thanks, but whereas you term our mother a Step mother: it is a very odious term in our country and therefore I pray you use it no more, because it is our duties to accept well of her who our father hath vouch safed to marrie, espetiallie if she use him well and honestly as she ought to do. And whereas you say your greatest comfort is, and may be in me next under God I would have you think otherwise that is this that our cheafest piety and comfort next after him, ought to be in our parents, but surely brother as you have bound me not only by deeds but words to be yours, soo by God's Grace I will continue yours to command in what I can, according to my slender abilities, whereas you write that you and my sister desire to see me in Macclesfield I trust in God the summer next coming it shall—this it cannot. And wh'as you say I shall have a home with you I thank you for it, but I hope in God I shall not be only welcome unto you but also to my parents when I come. In my last letter I directed unto my father I signefied unto him what I had done for my sister, and what I would do if I could have any good hope of towardness in her, and in the same mind I continue still. I write the like letter too her that is here in inclosed, to admonish her to flee from idleness as from a serpent whereas that letter is not delivered, because the carrier cannot hear certainly where she is, surely it is very sharp and rough, but not without good cause. I pray you remember me most dutifully to my old Master Mr. Brownsverd his wife and children. And thus I commit you unto the Lord who grant that our parents and we may meet in his heavenly kingdom after our pilgrimage is ended upon the earth

Ludgershall this 8th June 1587.

Your loving brother

WILLIA. BATEMANNE.

On the back of the above letter.

My father as John Knight told me desired our countymen Mr. Jackson and his brother and Mr. Potts brother, to ask me whether I was entered into the ministerie, as yet I pray you tell him I am not, not but I intend God willing to repair to the Bishop of Glos'ter with another student of Oxford by Gods help with as much speed as is possible and having obtained orders which I have very good assurance I shall do by the means I have worked, I doubt not by Gods assistance but I shall have livinge sufficient. I made this letter to have been delivered by our countrymen before named, but they came not by our town. I pray you if you come to London

this year, come to Ludgisale and if I be not theire you shall heare where I am, come unto me that you and I may confer together.

The next letter is not dated in the usual way, but has on the cover "ann° 1588." We might however conclude that it is second in order from the nature of its contents, as in it William receives assistance in money from his brother Thomas, whereas Thomas in all the others requires aid from him.

II.

To his Louing fath^r
Ihon Bateman dwelling
at Maxfelde in Cheshire
theise in hast.
The minist^r by whom I would
you should send mee worde as to
all things dwelleth by mee
and is at Alton in Stafford-
shire vntill the 12th March
Ann° 1588.

Jesus

Welbeloued fath^r I most hartilie co^mmende mee vnto you & my mother desiringe you both daylie to rememb^r mee in yo^r praier, as I for my parte by gods p^rmission will you etc. I pray you haue mee co^mmended to my broth^r Thomas and my sist^r Ann, & I would desire you to giue my brother greates thankes in my name for the xs he sent me by M^r Jacksonne w^{ch} by gods grace I will recompence when it shall please him to bestow bett^r abilitie vppoⁿ mee, but in the meane time I must desire both you & him to accept of my good will. Theare is one Crosleie as hee nameth him selfe an old maⁿ w^{ch} hath bine twice wth me at Stoke w^{ch} tould me you certified him you had writt a lett^r vnto mee w^{ch} as yeat I nev^r receiued nor anie one fro^m you since my co^mminge into the countrey w^{ch} maketh mee greatlie to marvell for theire co^mmeth not one fitt messeng^r fro^m mee that shall passe wthout alett^r if I may haue time to write. If my broth^r Thomas come to London this yeare I would desire him to see mee in his iorney but as I vnd^rstande by his last letter he mistooke my worde when wee two conferd togeth^r for he writeth theirein to know wheth^r I am full minister, I am soe now, & was then, though my travailinge w^{ch} was verie great, & the payme^{nt} for my ordⁿ cost mee verie deare, w^{ch} payme^{nt} hath houldeⁿ mee vnder, & as yeat I am not able to discharge it all; for my wages for the Cure is but bare viij£ whereof I pay vijs Subsidie, & verie neare vj£ my boorde, & I haue but fiue scholl^{rs} in our parish, & for anie forth of the p^rish not lightlie anie because others doe schoule as well as I. I would most willinglie see you this yeare if abilitie would p^rmitt, but I doubt I shall lacke wher wth to doe it, vnlesse you will doe mee that pleasure, as to lende mee xxs w^{ch} xxs would make full payme^{nt} vnto him of whome I borrowed iij£ wheⁿ I made suite for my ordⁿ. And

if you will doe soe muche for mee you shall receiue it againe wth a bett^r some if god spare mee lyfe & health wth in the Twelmonth, if possiblie you may doe it, I would request you to take the paines to bringe it to Mr. Lees the bearer heareof my neighbour. & verie deare frende & one of the same cote that I am; & if you will doe mee this pleasure it shall goe verie harde but I will see you this yeare (if god will) if you doe not the^a I caⁿnot in noe wise. I pray you doe my dutifull co^mmendaconnes to my good old M^r Brownswerde my M^r & his two sonnes wth all oth^r our frends. I desire greatlie to know wheare my sist^r Katren is & how shea doth, of whom I pray you certifie mee in yo^r next letter. Thus trustinge you will co^sid^r of the p^rmisses I co^mmit you vnto god & the lord Jesus blesse vs both; from Stoke the vth of March

your Louinge sonne to his
power WILLIAM BATEMAN

The third is from Thomas, to his brother, informing him that he has been imprisoned for debt. Its date is 1593. He seems to have remained in prison till 1601 (vide 5th letter).

III.

To his Wel beloved brother
William Bateman
curat at Stoke in
Oxfordshire gyve
these.

I pray you m^r ffrauncis
Jacksonne that you
will see this letter
dileuered to him
aboue written.

gyue theise to M^r Jack-
sonne dwellinge in
Show lane in Robin
hoods courte.

Brother William after my most hartie commendations trustinge in god you are in good health as I was at the makinge hereof. these are to let you vnderstand that I beinge imprisoned for dete I am determined to make a convey of my landes vnto you and your heires for ever after my decease yf soe be that you will satisfie my creditors; yf you refuse this offer that then I may craue at your brotherly handes that you will show me this fauour that you will talke with my creditors and agree or enter into bandes with me and for your discharge you shall [have] my landes morgaged vnto you. Thus committinge you to the almightie I end. Maclesfeild the xxij day of Aprill 1593:

Mye ffather and Mother are in good health thanks be to god my ffather would a made a saile of the house but for me and sould vnto Maister Steppleton but I refused to sailed with him and a delivered him the euidence.

maund them both of him So that I think vnkindnes in you that you would suff^r Mr. Norberie and Thomas Marler to passe without yo^r letter to me. I pray you let me receiue a lett^r from you with as much expedicion as you may, & cause it to be fast seald, and certify me in what sort you were releast, & how the matter standeth for house and lande, wheth^r they be sould, w^{ch} I hope not, because you have ev^r protested you would not, or the evidences morgaged, or anie part let by lease, if they be, for what space they are soe. Also where my sist^r Katren is & how she leadeth her lyfe, but I would desire that theise things might be set down rightlie and truelie. Thus I end committing you unto the Lord, who ev^r blesse vs all. Aarholm 27th of October 1601.

Yo^r Loving broth^r to his power,
WILLIAM BATEMAN.

The next letter is very interesting, as it shows the expenses of Institution, &c., and the value of his living.

VI.

To his Loving brother Thomas
Batemaⁿ at Maxfelde in Cheshire
theise wth speede

June xxixth 1603.

Brother Thomas aft^r my most hartie comendaconnes vnto you & my sister Ann, praying to god to blesse you, and yo^r proceedinges, & desyring you both in lyke sort to pray for me, & myne &c. Whearas you give me thanks for my kindnes towards you & my sister, I pray god much good may it dooe you, & if my abilitie were to my good will, I would haue done, & would now doe, that I am not able. you write vnto me, that whether you liue or die you will requite me, I looke not for anie requitall at all from you in money, because it seemes by you that is scarce: but a broth^rlie, upright, & conscionable dealing fro^m you, that you would neith^r sell, set, morgage nor use anie sinister meanes to defraude or keepe fro^m me yo^r house & lande. Vppoⁿ Saturday in Whitsunweeke I was at M^r Norberies, thinking to haue mett wth some Cheshire men theire, because I had bine told that he expected some, & as he, and his wife told me they had made provision for them, but none came. & he said vnto me furth^r that he thought to come downe about Michaelmas, but for my coming till I haue something recovered my self I will not. My old freind M^r Leigh hath resigned vnto me his Vicaridg of Caffield w^{ch} is worth xx markes the yeere, but it hath cost me for my resignatioⁿ, institutionⁿ, induction charges he had bestowed about my chamb^r at Stretton, Awdley wheire I now dwell, & oth^r expences aboue xiiij^l: so that all that I haue gotten at Stoke is spe^{at} vppoⁿ this, & for the commoditie of it fro^m our last Ladies day wheⁿ I entred vppoⁿ it till the next I looke for none, for godwilling I will nev^r be vnthankfull to such a freind as I haue found M^r Leigh to be. So that I haue nothing to liue vppoⁿ this yeere but my bare ix^l at Strettoⁿ, & yeat I am

constrained to fetch it Quart'lie at Oxford. & by schooling I get nothing, because for diu^m considerations that may insue, I will follow myne owne studie, the greatest p^t of this some I giue for my boorde: soe that I would intreat both you, & my sist^r to p^don me both from iorneying & p^ting from anie money, till I may truelie say I will spend myne owne money, & the^a godwilling you shall find me readie to pleasure you in what I am able, I protest vnto you theise matt^m are true, I haue writt vnto you. I heard since I r^d yo^r lett^r by a verie honest young maⁿ in Oxford that you liue verie well, wth I thank god for, & much reioise in it, but my p^svasioⁿ is, that you flee fro^m law as from a serpent, & if it be possible that you be at peace wth all men: & for the Intake I caⁿ neith^r tell you my advice nor ask the advice of my freinds vnlesse I knew the circu^mstances of the matt^r but for yo^r beginning anie suite wth anie maⁿ vnlesse doeing soe should be verie harmefull vnto you, I would not wish you in anie sort: but covet to get something that you may truelie say is yo^r owne, as I by the grace of god for my p^t will doe, & then in wrong that is offred you, I will help to assist you the best I can; followe yo^r owne businesse diligentlie, & carefullie, and deale faithfullie & iustlie with all meⁿ & then doubt not but god will prosper, & increase you; I have sent you verie latelie a lett^r by finney of Ald^rlay w^{ch} if you have received I would desire you to answeare me, I seⁿt diu^m times to the place in Londoⁿ I seⁿt downe, to enquire for a lett^r fro^m you according to yo^r promise, but I could nev^r heare of anie, it cost me money to theise messeng^r; Though neith^r you, nor I haue had much in the flourishing time of our age, we are bounde to give god thanks, for it was farre more then the bett^r of vs deserved, but I trust god blessing vs, & lookinge vnto the meane chaunce we shall haue sufficient to mainteine vs, & our families, & to bid one another welcome & our freindes welcome, before we come to be old meⁿ & when we are old men. About Michaelmas come twelumonth godwilling I entend to see you, for a little before that tyme I trust I shall haue something that I may say is mine owne, & that I can be coⁿtent to spend to se you, & my old freinds but If I may p^fectlie vnd^rstand that you haue eith^r set, sould, morgaged, eith^r by anie oth^r evell meanes deceived me of house or Landes, except the passing of yo^r field away from you to M^r Allen in that forme you tould me, then farewell broth^r & sist^r & farewell Maxfeld, for then both of you haue giveⁿ me speciall occasioⁿ to bid all theise adew; I pray god yo^r newes be trew you write vnto me of my sist^r if wthout offence to god I may speake it, vnlesse she would reforme h^r old life & become a new woman.

On the margin.

I haue heard of many petitions delivered vnto our King but not of one * * * * w^{ch} is disp * * * * [what] the issue of theise matt^m wilbe the Lord onely knoweth. Commende me I pray you to my cosen Ihoⁿ Blagge & his [wife] also [to]

Mr. William * * * [and all others] of our kinsfolke and freindes.

[I] commende you both [to God]
yo^r Louinge [brother]

WILLIAM BATEMAN.

The next letter would seem to show how rare nutmegs were then, as he sends two as a present to his cousin. It is evident also that Oxford gloves were then highly prized.

VII.

To my Louinge Cosen John
Blagge at maxfelde in
Cheshire theise wth speede

Cosen John aft^r my most harty commendaconnes vnto you and my good cosen yo^r bed fellowe, &c. I sent a lett^r to my broth^r Thomas bearing date the xxvith of June by M^r Shirt willing him therein to come upp wth all expedition & he comes to me fifteene weekes aft^r & bett^r, & I could nev^r heare from him till he came: if he had come immediatelie he had received that we concluded of, nay if he had come by St Mathewes tide wth is a week before Michaelmas I p^{re}test vnto you he had had it, for till then it lie by me still expecting his cominge. And when I could neith^r heare of him nor see him verily I p^{re}swading my self the circumstances considered he had oth^r waies p^{ro}vided, I lent it my neighbours as my broth^r can certify you by my bande I shewed him. He receiued xx s of me now wth I pray god much good may it doe him. I have sent my cosen yo^r wife by this bea^r two nut-meges in remembrance of h^r kindness & goodwill: but if I had bene assured of my broth^r cominge at Michaelm. godwilling I would haue bought h^r a paire of Oxford gloues & sent her. Rentes at this time were paid in our towne & I could not possibly get money to fit his turne therefore good cosen John let me intreat you of all loue & kindnesse to haue me most hartilie commended to my cosen Henry Bateman & moue him for god's cause and the names sake that he deale not in rigour wth him but in mercie and looke what friendship you two shewe to him I will accept as done to my selfe. My broth^r tells me he will let him out housing or grounds for his satisfaction. at such a rate as shall be thought good by honest discrete men & allowe him for his money according to the statute wth offer in my iudgement is both godly and honest. Thus trusting of your furtherance & goodwill to help my poor broth^r what you may be securing you I leaue you and yo^r to Thalmightie being readie at anie time to my power to do you anie pleasure I can. Stretton Audley the xv^jth of Sept 1605.

Yo^r loving Cosen in what he
may. WILLIAM BATEMAN.

The letter next in order of date has been already printed vol. IV., p. 197. It invites Thomas to come to see his brother, at Stretton Awdley.

The date is 1607. It mentions that he had given Thomas money to a considerable amount. The last in the series is dated 1609, and is addressed to his sister Mrs. Evans, whose conduct he rebukes sharply.

VIII.

To his Loving sister Katre^a
Evans at Maxfelde or
els wheire theise wth

Speede.

Sist^r Evans I am verie sorie & much disco^tented that you coⁿtinue that vngodly, lewd, & idle life still, & traine up yo^r childreⁿ to doe the like. Wheⁿ yo^r daught^r was placed with my sist^r & I am p^rswaded had those things w^{ch} were fit for h^r and well vsed: I should haue thought well of you, if you had suffered h^r to haue rested theire vnlesse you could haue betterd h^r dwellinge. It is told me that in yo^r begging up & downe the coⁿtrie you are not abashed to prate, & lye that the house, & lands shalbe yo^r: but I can assure you that during my broth^r life, my sist^r, and mine owne life, & my childreⁿ if I haue anie, you, nor yo^r cannot, nor may not, haue anie thing to doe theire. Lykewise yo^r husband saith that wheⁿ he cometh to Strettoⁿ that I shall send for him before he wille come to me; for anie benefite I ev^r receiued at his hand or yo^r I haue noe occasioⁿ to send for him nor you, nor I doe not intend it, nor furth^r that anie of you all shall receiue anie pennies, halfpennies or farthing in monie or monie woorth of my goods, for y^t I have I thank god for it I haue gotteⁿ with great paines, & industrie, & doe not intend to bestowe it of such that will frame themselves to no paines taking, but lead that life w^{ch} by the law is t^rme^d rogish, & may where they goe abroad be punished as roges; for such as feare god & respected theire owne credit, or the credit of theire kindred or freinds, would be most vilie ashamed to beg; but rath^r laboure diligeⁿtly wth theire owne hands that they would be chargable to noe maⁿ. My broth^r caⁿ tell you that wheⁿ he made so many iornyes vnto me that I gave him at his last coming but one bare half crowne, & I told him that if he came againe he should not haue had one pennie, nor no more in good truth he should; & assure yo^r self I will much rath^r serve you soe if you returne theⁿ I would him if he had returned; for he ever came like a maⁿ & had a house to returne to, & w^{ch} most of all coⁿforted me couⁿted an honest maⁿ, but wth you quite contrarie. Thus wth my comendaconnes to yo^r husband trusting in god all thinges wilbe amended I co^mmit you to god Strettoⁿ Awdl. 1609

Yo^r Loving broth^r vppoⁿ amendment
WILLIAM BATEMAN

FIFTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 3rd March, 1853.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of six Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected:—

William Ellis, 29, Edge Lane, Liverpool.
Peter Mac Intyre, M.D., 120, Duke Street, Liverpool.
John Robinson, Westfield, Huddersfield.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

1. From the *Society*.

Memoires de la Societe des Antiquaires de
l'Ouest, anno 1850-51, Poitiers, 1852.

2. From the *Author*.

On the Assyro-Babylonian Phonetic characters, by the Rev. E. Hincks, D.D., 1852.

A list of Assyro-Babylonian characters, with their Phonetic values, by the Rev. E. Hincks, D.D., 1852.

3. From *other* Donors.

James Kendrick, M.D.

Catalogue of the Plants in the Liverpool Botanical Gardens, 1808.

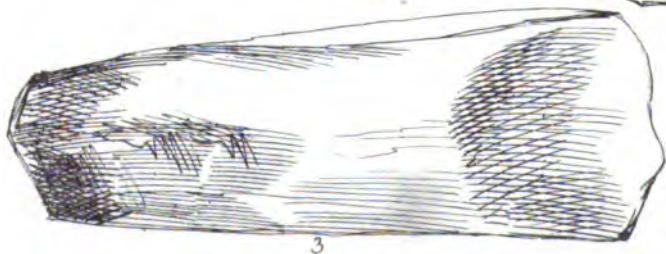
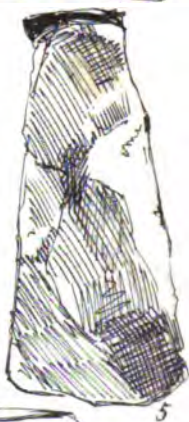
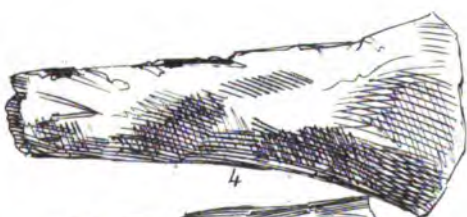
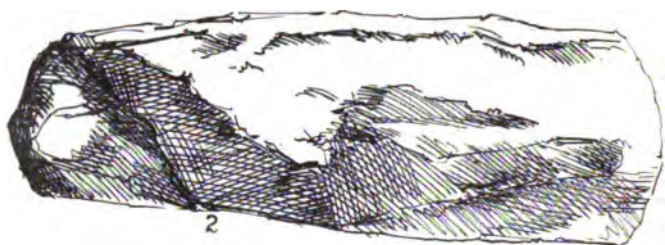
Akerman's Directions for the preservation of English Antiquities, 1851.

Dr. Hume.

Catalogue of the Library of the late Rev. G. B. Sandford, M.A., of Church Minshull, and of the late John Just, Esq., Bury. Sold at Manchester, 1853.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.



Handwritten signature

- James Stonehouse, Esq. Autograph letters from John Braham and Mrs. Hemans.
- William Bennett, Esq. A volume in large elephant folio, illustrated with numerous plates; "Description des Tombeaux de Canosa, par A. L. Millin, à Paris, 1816."

The following articles were EXHIBITED :—

- By Joseph Guyton, Esq. A Scottish Highland Claymore, left in a room in the Inn at Dumfries, occupied by the Young Pretender on his return from England, 1746. On one side of the blade is the following inscription, GOTT BEWAR DE, and on the other, VERECHTE SCHOTTEN.
- By Miss Atherton. An ancient iron coffer, fashioned after the style of the old muniment chests, with ribs, hinges, lock, and handles. In the front is painted a group of figures.
- By J. W. Whitehead, Esq. Six curious stone axes, which had formed part of the splendid collection of the late Lieut. Col. Sommer, dispersed by Auction, May, 1852.
1. Splendid flint axe, from the spring of St. Hélène Kilde, in Seelande. It is blocked out by the chipper, for the operation of grinding.
 2. Flint axe unpolished; from the marsh of Utterslev, near Copenhagen.
 3. Flint axe from Jutland, a companion to No. 2. It has been injured at the top, but the fractures have been removed by grinding; it has also been sharpened on one side, after repeated use.
 4. Flint axe unpolished. This is an approximation to the form of the bronze celt, and is probably more modern.
 5. Small stone axe, roughly hewn, and polished at the edges.
 6. Small stone axe, (companion to No. 5,) roughly hewn and polished on all the four sides.
- By J. G. Jacob, Esq. Four silver coins; three of them of Edward III., of England, and one of Alexander I., of Scotland.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. A series of nearly 400 original drawings by Liverpool artists, in illustration of his paper for the evening. Among these was the first portrait of Roscoe, painted by John Williamson, drawings by Stubbs, the animal painter, Moses Houghton, Crouchly, Spence, Mosses, Samuel Williamson, Herdman, Thomas Griffiths, Daniels, and many others

The original sketch of the house in which Roscoe was born, by Samuel Austin.

Two volumes of Roscoe's Letters.

By Rev. John James Moss, B. A. A paper box, manufactured by F. D. Browne, (Mrs. Hemans,) presented to Mr. Moss's mother in acknowledgement of a kindness. Flowers are painted on the lid, and on the bottom the following lines from Cunningham, in the autograph of the Poetess :—

" The little rose that laughs upon the stem,
 "(One of the sweets with which the gardens teem)
 " In value soars above an Eastern gem
 " If tendered as a token of esteem."

A terra cotta medallion of Leo X., presented to Mrs. Moss, of Islington, by Roscoe, in 1820.

By Dr. Kendrick,
 Warrington.

An oval silver medallion, the property of Mrs. Rylands, of Warrington. *Obverse*. A well-executed bust, with flowing hair, and in the costume of the close of the 17th century. *Reverse*. A man nearly nude, resting his right arm upon an altar, holding in his left hand a shield charged with 8 bars, and supporting a club; before him several reptiles; above him a glory, with the Hebrew name of the Deity; at his feet "HUC USQ ET O ULTRA." *Edge*. "ERNEST BOGISLAO D G. DUC: GROV: AC ROM IMP. PRINCIPI &c. I. HOHN. D. D. D. ANNO 1668."

An Apostle Spoon, of silver, formerly given by the sponsors to the godchild at its christening. The assay-mark refers its date to 1616.

By Mr. Flower, of
 Bold Street.

A small bronze bust of Roscoe, after the large one by Spence.

PAPERS.

I.—HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE VALLEY OF THE MERSEY PREVIOUS TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Thomas Baines, Esq.

When the Romans landed in Britain they found the island occupied by numerous tribes, each governed by its own petty chief. Upwards of thirty such tribes are mentioned by name in Cæsar's account of his Two Expeditions to Britain; in Tacitus's account of his Father-in-law's Agricola's Campaigns; in Ptolemy's Geography; in the Itineraries or road books published at a later period; or in other works of authority. Although a local habitation has been found by ingenious writers for each of the thirty-five tribes enumerated by these writers, yet the precise bounds which separated many of them from each other, are not, and never will be, ascertained. There is no doubt, however, that the Brigantes, who were amongst the most powerful of the British tribes, occupied a large part, if not the whole of the six northern counties of England, extending from the Humber and the Mersey to the Cheviot Hills, nor that the Cornavii occupied the greater part of the plain which extends from the Mersey to the Severn, and includes Cheshire, Shropshire, and Staffordshire. Ptolemy, the geographer, mentions Eboracum, or York, as one of the cities of the Brigantes, and Duena, or Deva, the modern Chester, as one of the cities of the Cornavii. The frontier line between those two tribes was, therefore, formed somewhere between those two cities, and there is little doubt that a part of it was formed by the river Mersey.

Whilst the divisions between many of the small states of Britain were imaginary political lines, the Brigantes had, on the southern frontier, a great natural boundary, consisting of a lofty chain of hills, rising in some places to the height of 2,000 feet, in ancient times covered with thick forests,—two wide estuaries, the Mersey and the Humber,—numerous rivers flowing into those estuaries from the mountains,—and wide and deep

swamps lying between the rivers, and adding to the difficulty of the approaches. The first Roman general who led an army into the wild and mountainous country of the Brigantes was Petilius Cerialis, who invaded that part of Britain in the time of Vespasian, about the year 70 of the Christian era. According to the expression of Tacitus, he there fought many battles, and those not bloodless, and embraced, in victory or war, the greater part of the country of the Brigantes. But the true conqueror of the Brigantes was Julius Agricola. In his first campaign, he conquered a large portion of North Wales, then inhabited by the Ordovices, and captured the stronghold of the Druids—the Isle of Anglesey, or Mona. In his second campaign, he marched northward into the country of the Brigantes; occupied places fit for camps; explored the estuaries and forests, no doubt including the Mersey and the wide forests which encircled it; and, by holding out the terrors of war on one side, and the advantages of peace on the other, induced many of the Brigantes and other tribes to submit to the Roman dominion. The following winter he spent in introducing the arts of civilized life. “The following winter,” says Tacitus, “he spent in carrying out useful plans; for, in order to accustom men dispersed and rude, and, therefore, always ready for war, to the pleasures of a peaceful life, he began to exhort them privately, to assist them publicly, in building temples, forums, and houses. . . . Also, to instruct their sons in liberal arts; to prefer the genius of the Britons to the industry of the Gauls, so that those who before had detested the Roman language, desired a reputation for eloquence. Hence the honour of our dress and the frequent toga. By degrees they proceeded to the refinements of the bath, the portico, and the feast, called by man civilization, but really parts of servitude.” Such was the manner in which Agricola spent the year which intervened between his campaign in North Wales and that to the banks of the Tay; and it is probably to this period that we ought to refer the origin of the temples, and other public buildings, erected in the valley of the Mersey, at Mancunium, or Manchester, and at Verantinum, or Warrington; and the still nobler works erected in the valley of the Dee, at Chester, and that of the Ribble, at Ribchester. To the same period we may also refer the great roads which the Romans formed on the banks of the Mersey. These lines of road may still be distinctly traced on the Ordnance Maps, recently formed. One line crossed the river at Warrington, another at Manchester. Viewing these roads locally, the former con-

nected Chester with Ribchester, the latter united the three great Roman stations of Chester, Manchester, and York; viewing them on a larger scale, they connected the valley of the Mersey with every part of Britain subject to the Roman dominion, and with the whole civilized world of ancient times. During the next fifteen hundred years these were the roads along which the armies of the Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Normans, and of the kings and barons of the Plantagenet race, marched to victory or defeat; within a small distance of their track the most famous English battles were fought; along their course all the ancient towns, which were of sufficient consequence to be made the sees of bishops, grew up, and all the internal trade of the country was carried on, except where navigable rivers gave a cheaper and easier means of transport and communication.

There is so much fiction in the accounts of the British king Arthur, that it is difficult to judge whether we ought to place any credence in the stories of the great battles said to have been fought between the Britons under his command, and the invading Saxons in South Lancashire, a few miles north of the Mersey. Wigan, on the Douglas, close to the great Roman road, which crossed the Mersey at Warrington, and intersected Lancashire from north to south, is the supposed site of those battles. There is no point at which a Saxon army pushing its conquests southward, and a Welsh or British army defending its ancient territory, would be more likely to come into conflict, and according to Nennius four battles did take place there. What we know from Saxon authority of the progress of the Saxons southward is this. Ida, the first Saxon King of Northumberland, began to reign in the year 547. He built the strong castle on the coast of the present county of Northumberland, which was called Bebbanburh, (and is now known as Bamboro'.) Soon after we find his successors reigning at York, which, from that time, became the capital of the kingdom of Northumberland; and, in the year 607, sixty years after the accession of Ida, we find one of his descendants, Ethelfrith, King of Northumberland, fighting a great battle with the Britons south of the river Mersey. According to the Saxon Chronicle, "he led his army to Chester, where he slew an innumerable number of the Welsh." At this time, therefore, the ancient kingdom of the Brigantes, afterwards formed into the Roman province of *Maxima Cæsariensis*, had been overrun by the Saxons. Here their progress was checked soon after by the advance of another Saxon people, the Mercians. They gradually extended their dominion over

seventeen of the present English counties, of which Cheshire was the most northerly, and with them the Welsh seem to have formed an alliance. One object of the alliance was to restrain and punish the Northumbrians, who had committed a terrible massacre of priests and people at Chester. This alliance continued for several years, although in the interval the Northumbrians had become Christians, which the Welsh had been for many generations, whilst the Mercians still clung to the worship of Woden Thor, and Fria, which their ancestors had brought from the forests of Germany and shores of the Baltic.

In the great struggle between the Northumbrians and the Mercians, which preceded the establishment of Christianity in the central parts of England, the chief leaders were Penda, king of Mercia, and Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy, who were successively kings of Northumberland.

The first great battle between Penda and the Christian kings of Northumberland, took place at Heathfield-Moor, on the south-western frontier of Yorkshire. In this battle Edwin was killed, and after the battle Penda advanced as far as York, burning and destroying on every side. On the approach of the Pagans, Paulinus, the first Archbishop of York, fled by sea, taking along with him the widow of King Edwin. Paulinus was well received by the King of Kent, who appointed him Bishop of Rochester, which see he possessed until the time of his death, seventeen years after the death of King Edwin.

After the death of Edwin and the flight of Paulinus, the affairs of the Christian people of Northumberland appeared to be desperate; but fortunately there was a king found in Oswald, and a bishop in St. Aidan, who were capable of restoring the independence and sustaining the religion of the Northumbrians. After a succession of battles, King Oswald succeeded in driving Penda from the Kingdom of Northumberland, over which he reigned for nine years. Being resolved, as far as in him lay, to restore the knowledge of the Christian religion, he sent to the famous monastery of Iona for a religious teacher, and was most fortunate in obtaining such a man as St. Aidan. According to the Venerable Bede, he was a truly apostolic man, distinguished for his "love of peace and charity; his continence and humility; his mind superior to anger and avarice, and despising pride and vain glory; his industry in keeping and teaching the heavenly commandments; his diligence in reading and watching; his authority be-

coming a priest in reproving the haughty and powerful; and, at the same time, his tenderness in comforting the afflicted, and relieving or defending the poor."

Oswald reigned nine years, when he was again attacked by Penda, the relentless enemy of his race and religion. A battle took place at Maserfelde, or Makerfield, and in this battle Oswald was slain and his army defeated. The place where this disastrous battle took place, is proved by a great preponderance of evidence, to have been Makerfield, in the valley of the Mersey, on the line of the Roman road from Chester to Ribchester, close to the point where the dominions of Oswald and Penda joined.

Some authors have supposed that the battle in which King Oswald was slain, was fought near Oswestry, which is said, in ancient times, to have been called Maserfeldt. The evidence, as far as names is concerned, is not very decisive either way; but in favour of Lancashire Makerfield, is to be added the fact, that the latter is within the territory of the kings of Northumberland, and precisely at the point at which it was most likely to be attacked by an army advancing from Mercia, whilst Oswestry is far distant from Oswald's dominions, and many miles within the dominions of Penda. Both Bede and the Saxon Chronicle state, that Penda died in defending his own dominions. In addition to this it should be mentioned, that at the time when Domesday Book was compiled, there were two carucates of land at Newton-in-Makerfield, consecrated to King Oswald; that the church of Winwick bears his name, and contains an ancient inscription, which states that that was the place of his death; and that there has been there, from the earliest times, a holy well, bearing his name, and which was always supposed to mark the spot where he fell.

But the death of Oswald, though a great misfortune to the Christian cause in England, and to the independence of Northumberland, was not fatal to either. King Oswald was succeeded by King Oswy, his brother; and in a great battle with him, Penda was defeated. Penda, and upwards of thirty of his principal officers were drowned in their flight, having been driven into the river Winweyde, the waters of which were at that time much swollen by heavy rains. There is no stream in England which is more liable to be suddenly flooded than the stream which joins the river Mersey below Winweck, and there, both the resemblance of the names, and the probability of the fact, induce me to think that Penda met with

his death, within two or three miles of the place at which Oswald had fallen.

The death of Penda was followed by the triumph of Christianity amongst the Mercians, and the establishment of the midland bishopric of Lichfield, a bishopric which rivalled the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York in extent and dignity, during the flourishing times of the kingdom of Mercia; which originally had power from the Thames to the Severn and Mersey; and which after the overthrow of the kingdom of Northumberland, even stretched its power as far as the river Ribble.

Until the year 867 the river Mersey was the boundary between two kingdoms, each occupied by the Anglo-Saxon race; but about that year it became the boundary between the Danes and the Saxons. The first appearance of the Scandinavian sea rovers, known in England as the Danes, in France as the Normans, and in Ireland as the Eastmen, and who were a mixed multitude of Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, was in the year A.D. 787. From that time to the year 840, they landed only in the summer months, and only for purposes of plunder, and retired as speedily as possible with their booty. In that year they first remained in England during the winter, and gradually formed plans of permanent occupation, which they ultimately carried into execution, until the whole of the kingdom north of the Mersey and the Humber, and the whole to the east of Watling-street, which ran along much the same line as the railway from Chester to London, was occupied by them.

The kingdom of Northumberland being to the North of the Humber and the Mersey, was one of the first conquests made by the Danes in England. The army which made this conquest was commanded by Halfdane. The invaders landed in Anglia, which included the counties of Lincoln and Norfolk, in the autumn of 866; spent the winter there; and and in the spring of the following year marched northward to the city of York, which was the capital of Northumberland. They found that kingdom in the condition of a house divided against itself. The king had been deposed by his people, and a pretender had seized the throne. They had been engaged in a desperate civil war, but on the approach of the Danes they agreed to act together, though not until it was too late. A great battle was fought at York in the year 867, in which the two kings were killed by the victorious Danes. Thus fell the Saxon kingdom of Northumberland, which the Danes soon after divided amongst themselves.

No part of the United Kingdom bears stronger marks of their possession than that part of the valley of the Mersey which lies in the hundred of West Derby. Nearly all the names are Danish. This is not the case in the Hundred of Salford. There are few names there of Danish origin, and it is probable that the old Saxon inhabitants retired before the conquerors, into that corner, which, as already stated, was protected by the Yorkshire hills on the east; Pendle Hill and the Rivington Range to the north; the rivers Irwell and Mersey, and Carrington and other Mosses on the south; and the immense morass, now known as Chat Moss, Risley, and the Glazebrook Mosses on the east. Manchester was the centre of that district, and, as we shall see, was destroyed in the Danish wars.

But the acquisition of Northumbria and East Angles only aroused the eagerness of the Danes for fresh conquests, and led to more desperate conflicts between the invaders and the invaded Saxons. In the course of these struggles, which scarcely ceased during the next two hundred years, the line of division between the Danish and the Saxon territory continually varied. Sometimes it was on the Mersey and the Humber; then on the Trent; then on the Severn and the Thames; and at one time it was driven back to the Parrot, in Somersetshire, and the Exe, in Devonshire. At that time, the whole kingdom was overrun, and everything was subdued, except Alfred, the king. From this lowest point of desperation the Saxons were roused by the valour and genius of the greatest of kings; the tide of Danish invasion was driven back; and, at the close of the war with Guthrum, the Dane, Alfred recovered all his own hereditary dominions in the kingdom of the West Saxons, which included the whole of the country south of the River Thames, and about half the territory of the kingdom of Mercia. The last king of Mercia, Burhred, had fled to Rome, in the midst of this dreadful struggle, where he remained to the time of his death. Alfred and the Danes divided his deserted kingdom between them, Alfred taking everything south and West of Watling-street, and the Danes everything north and east. By the treaty with Guthrum the whole kingdom of Northumberland, north of the Mersey and the Humber, was surrendered to the Danes.

During the life of Guthrum, the boundaries fixed between the Danelagh, or territory subject to the laws of the Danes, and that of the Saxons, remained unchanged; but, in the year 893, an enormous host of Danes,

commanded by Hasten, a chief of consummate military talents, landed at the mouth of the Thames, with the determination to conquer the whole of England, and was at once joined by the Danes of Northumberland and East Anglia. Nothing but the valour and genius of Alfred could have triumphed over dangers so appalling; and it was not until that great King had vanquished the armies of Hasten and his allies, in three campaigns, in which the seat of war was carried from the banks of the Thames to those of the Severn, the Dee, and the Mersey, that he compelled them to fly from the kingdom.

In the year 893 the great Danish host embarked at Boulogne in 250 ships, and came over at one passage, horses and all, to Limne mouth, in Kent, at the east end of the great wood called Andred Wood, 120 miles in length from east to west, and thirty miles broad. Soon after that Hasten, with eighty ships, landed at the mouth of the Thames, and built himself a fortress at Milton, as the other army did at Appledore.

At the beginning of the year 894, all the Northumbrian and East Anglian Danes rose against King Alfred, although they had given oaths and six hostages to the king. "Contrary to their plighted troth, as often as the other (the invading) armies went out with all their forces, they also went out, either with them, or in their own part" of the country. On this King Alfred collected the whole force of the kingdom, and took a position between the invading and home-bred enemies. The first great battle was with the invading host, and was fought at Farnham, in Surrey, where the king gained a great victory; the second was in the West of England, where the Northumbrians had landed from a fleet of forty ships; the third was at Banfleet, on the Thames, where Alfred, assisted by the Londoners, stormed the camp of Hasten, and captured his wife and two sons, whom he generously gave up to him. After this defeat the Danes marched up the valley of the Thames, whence they crossed over into the valley of the Severn, closely followed by a Saxon army, which overtook them at Buttington-bridge, near Shrewsbury. There the Danes had constructed a strong fortified camp, in which the Saxons shut them up, until they were greatly distressed for want of food. After having eaten many of the horses, and having been rendered desperate by hunger, the Danes made a furious sally, and, though many were killed, many succeeded in cutting their way through the Saxon lines. Those who escaped kept together, and marched

right across the kingdom to the Danish settlements in Essex. "When they came into Essex, to their forces and their ships, then the survivors again gathered a great army, from amongst the East Angles and the Northumbrians, before winter, and committed their wives and their ships, and their wealth to the East Angles, and went at one stretch, day and night, until they arrived at a western city in Wirral, which is called Legaceaster, (Chester.) Then were the forces (of King Alfred) unable to come up with them before they were in the fortress; nevertheless, they beset the fortress about for some two days and took all the cattle that were there without, and slew the men whom they were able to overtake without the fortress, and burned all the corn, and with their horses ate it every evening." The invaders, thus pressed and straitened, fled into North Wales, but were unable to stay there, because they had been deprived of the cattle and the corn which they had taken. Finding it impossible to subsist there, the Danish army crossed over into Northumberland, that is, into Lancashire; "and, marching over Northumberland and East Anglia, in such wise that the forces (of King Alfred) could not overtake them before they came to the eastern parts of the land of Essex, to an island that is out on the sea, which (strangely enough) is called Mersey."

Having traced the campaigns of Alfred with Hasten up to the point when Alfred drove the Danes out of Mercia into Northumberland,—that is, from Cheshire into Lancashire,—it is not necessary to follow them further in detail. In the following year several desperate battles were fought on the banks of the Thames and the Severn, but the war did not extend to the banks of the river Mersey. In the succeeding year, 897, the entire army of Hasten broke up in despair, some for East Anglia, some for Northumbria, and others fled across the sea to plunder on the banks of the Seine. The Northumbrian Danes still continued to be very formidable to the Saxons. Besides plundering the lands on the frontiers, they sailed round the coasts in a kind of vessels called Esks, which they had built many years before. "Then King Alfred commanded long ships to be built to oppose the esks: they were full-nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars, and some had more; they were built swifter and slenderer, and also higher than the others. They were shaped neither like the Frisian nor the Danish, but so as it seemed to him they would be more efficient." This was the commencement of the Royal Navy of England.

In the year 901 died Alfred, the son of Ethelwolf, six days before the mass of All Saints. He was King over the whole English nation, "except," adds the chronicler, "that part which was under the dominion of the Danes." The part thus excepted included, even to the end of his reign, everything north of the Mersey and the Humber, and a number of strong positions in Mercia and East Anglia.

The great objects of Edward the Elder, the son and successor of Alfred and Ethelfleda, the heroic daughter of Alfred, who was married to Ethelred, the Alderman or Earl of Mercia, were to complete the conquests of Mercia, and to fortify the northern frontier against the Northumbrians.

In the year 911 the Northumbrians themselves began the war, for they despised the peace which King Edward and his "witan" offered them, and overran the land of Mercia. After collecting great booty, they were overtaken, on their march home, by the forces of the West Saxons and the Mercians, who put them to flight, and slew many thousands of them. Two Danish kings and five earls were slain in this battle. Amongst the Earls slain was Agmund, the governor, from whom the hundred of Agmunderness, now written Amounderness, was probably named.

From this time there was constant war between the son and daughter of Alfred, and the Danes of Mercia and Northumberland. They armed and fortified the chief towns of Mercia, including Hertford, Tamworth, Bridgenorth, Warwick, and Stafford. In the years 914 and 915 Ethelfleda fortified the whole line of the river Mersey, beginning at Runcorn, where the river is more easy passable than at any other part of the estuary; forming another fortress at Warburton, above Warrington; and a third, in a position of considerable strength, at Eddesbury, in Delamere Forest. To give greater strength to this line of defence, Edward, her brother, fortified Thelwall, on the river Mersey, restored the walls of Chester, and sent an army across the Mersey, to take possession of Manchester in Northumberland, and to repair and man it. Thus the tide of war which had flowed from Northumberland into Mercia and the West Saxon land, in the time of Alfred, was fairly beaten back to the banks of the Mersey and the Humber, by his son and daughter.

Edward the Elder died in the year 925, and was succeeded by his son Athelstane, and in the following year he obtained the kingdom of Northumberland, and even made war against Constantine, King of Scotland. In

the year 937 his dominions were invaded by an immense host, commanded by Anlaf, the Danish King of Dublin, by Constantine, King of Scotland, and by all the chiefs and earls of the western seas. A great battle took place between this host and the army of the West Saxons and Mercians, commanded by Athelstane, and Edward, his brother, in which the invaders were defeated with enormous loss. One of the Saxon Chronicles, in the account which it gives of this battle says, A. 937. This year Athelstane, and Edmund, his brother, led a force to Brunenburh, and there fought against Anlaf, and Christ helping, had the victory; and slew five kings and seven earls. Sharon Turner, in his History of the Anglo-Saxons, states that great doubt exists as to the place where the battle was fought, but mentions Bromborough in Cheshire, on the south bank of the Mersey, as a probable site. It is certainly much more more likely than any other of the places which have been mentioned, namely, Bamboro', in the present county of Northumberland; Bourne, in Lincolnshire; and Banbury, in Oxfordshire. The expedition was fitted out at Dublin; was commanded by the Danish chief of that city; and the wreck of the army fled their after the fight, which took place on the sea shore. These circumstances are all mentioned in the splendid poem in honour of this victory, which is preserved in the Saxon Chronicle, and which is probably the finest specimen of Anglo-Saxon poetry now in existence.

Such are the principal events connected with the early history of the Valley of the Mersey, which appear to rest on probable evidence. At a subsequent time, but when it is impossible to say, the whole of South Lancashire was separated from the great Earldom of Northumberland, and united to the scarcely less powerful Earldom of Mercia, and, probably, at the same time, it was united to the Bishopric of Lichfield, of which it formed a part until the establishment of the Bishopric of Chester at the Reformation.

II.—ROSCOE, AND THE INFLUENCE OF HIS WRITINGS ON THE FINE ARTS.

By Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Curator.



"*Stassi il lauro lieto*" was the motto adopted by Roscoe on his seal, with the emblem of the laurel; and in allusion to it, a sonnet * was addressed to him, by one of his sons, in the year 1816.

How little did he think at that time, that in after years, his fellow-

* "STASSI IL LAURO LIETO."

"Favour'd beyond each tree of field or grove,
Glad, and for ever green, the laurel stands;
Not to be pluck'd but by heroic hands,
And sacred to the majesty of Jove.

No lightning flash may smite it from above,
No whirlwinds rend it from its rooted bands;
Obedient to their master's high commands,
They spare the chosen plant he deigns to love.

So 'midst the tumults of this mortal state,
While thunders burst around, and storms assail,
The good man stands with mind and brow serene;
In cloud or sunshine still inviolate,
Confiding in a trust that cannot fail—
A sacred laurel, glad and ever green."

townsmen would assemble on the centenary† of his birthday, to do honour to his name, and again repeat

“Stassi il lauro lieto.”

The quotation could not be more appropriately applied to any one than to William Roscoe, whose writings will remain to be read, alike with pleasure and instruction, in after ages; and the glad and evergreen laurel will in immortality encircle the head of our great townsman. But it is not either with the poetical or the historical genius of Roscoe that we have now to do. I ask indulgence for a short time, whilst I place his honoured name in another light, which I think will add a further claim on your admiration of his versatile genius—the influence of his writings on the Fine Arts throughout Europe, but more especially in his native country.

† The centenary was celebrated at Liverpool on the 8th of March, 1853, under the auspices of a committee of delegates from the Architectural and Archaeological Society, the Chemists' Association, the Historic Society, the Literary and Philosophical Society, the Liverpool Academy, the Polytechnic Society, and the Royal Institution. The proceedings of the day commenced with a public breakfast in the Philharmonic Hall, the Earl of Sefton, lord lieutenant of the county, in the chair. The official address respecting the personal character of Roscoe, was delivered by W. Rathbone, Esq., and that on his literary character by the Rev. Dr. Hume. These were responded to by W. Caldwell Roscoe, Esq., grandson of the historian; and other interesting addresses were delivered by the Mayor of Liverpool, the Lord Bishop of Chester, the President of the Chetham society, the Stipendiary Magistrate of Liverpool, and the Rev. Dr. Raffles.—At two o'clock, the Derby Museum was formally opened to the public by the Mayor, accompanied by the Aldermen, Town Councillors, and other principal inhabitants. The inaugural address was delivered by the Mayor, and responded to by the Rev. Augustus Campbell, M.A., junior rector, on the part of the Trustees. Other interesting addresses were delivered by James A. Picton, Esq., F.S.A., chairman of the Library and Museum Committee of the Town Council, and by the Lord Bishop of Chester.—At three o'clock, the members of the local learned societies, the members of the Royal Institution, and other friends met in the theatre of the Royal Institution, where an interesting address was delivered by Joseph B. Yates, Esq., F.S.A., formerly President of the Institution and of the Literary and Philosophical Society. The Rev. Dr. Raffles, in moving a vote of thanks, stated some interesting reminiscences of Roscoe.—Mr. Mayer's Egyptian Museum having been generously thrown open to the company during the day, many paid a visit to it; others inspected the museum and gallery of the Royal Institution; and a few called at the Athenæum library to examine the Roscoe memorials deposited there.—In the evening, a brilliant *soirée* was given by the Mayor, at which upwards of a thousand ladies and gentlemen were present, in the magnificent suite of apartments in the Town-hall. The proceedings embraced a short vocal and instrumental concert, and were varied by the introduction of the following subjects of interest:—Illustrated Books, presided over by Mr. Picton and Mr. Fernihough; Miscellaneous Zoology and Botany, Dr. Dickinson and Mr. T. C. Archer; Local Antiquities, Dr. Hume and Mr. Mayer; Rare Manuscripts and Books of Art, Jos. B. Yates, Esq.; Original Letters of Roscoe, and Articles of Vertu, Mr. Jas. Boardman; Architectural Models and Stereoscopes, Mr. H. P. Horner and Mr. Newlands; Microscopes, Dr. Inman, Dr. J. B. Edwards, and Messrs. Byerley and Cauty.—A medal was struck for the occasion, by Mr. Mayer, of Lord street; a bronze bust was issued by Mr. Flower, of Bold street; the Poems of Roscoe were published by Mr. Young, of Castle street; and numerous other works were privately printed for presentation. An account of the whole was published under the title of “*The Liverpool Tribute to Roscoe*,” by Mr. Baines, of the Liverpool Times office, Castle street.—ED.

It is well known in how poor and feeble a state the arts of painting and sculpture were at the latter end of the eighteenth century, when conventionalism of style prevailed in all the schools of art in Europe: the only encouragement being at that period confined to the patronage of the church; with very few exceptions, in the orders given by crowned heads, and the high nobility of caste. We owe much to the fascinating writings of Roscoe, to whom it was reserved, in his lives of Lorenzo de Medicis and Leo X., to revive the love of those ennobling arts—painting and sculpture, which have grown in our time to a healthy strength, more especially in the schools of our own country. They have also for ever set at rest the pedantic assertion, that our climate was inimical to the growth of true genius.

But it was long before the life of Lorenzo issued from the almost obscure local press of Mr. M'Creery, at Liverpool, that we find a little band of lovers of art, who had caught the inspiration of the gifted Roscoe, forming themselves into a society for "the promotion and encouragement of art." It was in 1783, by this young society, that Liverpool was first taught that possession of mere wealth is not the only means of happiness; but that there is something beyond it, which must be attained before we arrive at either greatness or true enjoyment of life—the cultivation of the intellect and taste. We accordingly find here the honoured names of Roscoe, Taylor, Daulby, M'Morland, Green, Gregson, and others, associated with the delivery of well-written, earnest essays on the arts of design, painting, sculpture, and engraving, in a small room in John Street, to an attentive audience, who listened to the first teachings on the beauties of art.

There was an academy for drawing established prior to 1783, as will be seen from the following extract of a letter from Mr. Thomas Taylor, the Secretary, dated 28th Oct., 1783, and addressed to Mr. John Leigh Phillips, of Manchester.*

"I am glad you approve of our intended academy. We have not launched forth in a pompous manner, yet the promoters of it show much zeal for its

* John Leigh Phillips, Esq., a gentleman of well known taste, was one of the intimate friends of Roscoe, and collector of the works of Rembrandt, in amicable rivalry with Daniel Daulby, Esq., and whose name will be ever dear to the lovers of art, for the liberal patronage which he so kindly bestowed upon Wright, of Derby, who painted for him the "Dead Soldier" (and whose memoirs he wrote); as well as Westall, and many other artists, who always found in him a kind friend in the hour of need. It is through the kindness of Mrs. Phillips, of Belle Vue, who presented me with a series of letters addressed to her father-in-law, Mr. John Leigh Phillips, of Manchester, that I am enabled to fix the site of the house in which the first Exhibition was held. The accompanying wood-cut is a correct view of it.

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establishment, and it has met with great encouragement from the inhabitants of Liverpool; not only such as have a taste for the art of painting, but from many who have never shewn any disposition that way. I shall enclose you a plan of the institution, which we have thought proper to have printed, that the design of the institution might be rightly understood. I have no doubt it will be a very useful one, and setting London aside, I don't think there is any place in the kingdom where better instruction may be had on these subjects. Roscoe is to open it this day week, and I venture to say his lecture will be a high treat. It is his favourite pursuit; and it was his Ode on a similar institution here some years since, which established his title to poetic fame. He has much at heart the re-establishing of the academy; and has endeavoured, in forming the plan, to avoid the rock on which the former split, which was, that it was made to rest entirely on the artists. They being transient inhabitants, the matter dropt when they left town; but now the artists are secondary instruments only, the principal parts are in the hands of residents."

Mr. Taylor again names the academy in a letter dated November 25, 1783:—

"I hope you intend coming to Liverpool. We wish you to see our academy, which goes on charmingly. We meet every evening to draw for about a couple of hours, and some excellent things have been produced. We have now completely fitted up the room, and a very comfortable place it is. The lectures have been very clever; Roscoe's was one of the most elegant compositions I ever heard. The succeeding ones have been on anatomy, by [Dr.] Turner, and very clever indeed. Next Thursday we have a chemical one, and, on Thursday following, Morland mounts. [11th December, 1783, on "The Theory of Painting."] I have attempted to draw with them, but find it very difficult at first; but I mean to persevere. Wakefield [Gilbert] will draw in a masterly manner, I never saw one so fond of it; but Morland will carry the palm away from them all, and does in my opinion now, though it is a kind of work he is not used to."

In a short time afterwards, when, by means of the lectures, the seeds of desire to know more had been sown; the society, feeling their own growing strength, were desirous of illustrating their hitherto theoretical arguments by actual practical observation. Mr. Roscoe started the idea of an exhibition of works of art, which was responded to with a warmth of feeling, and carried out with an energy of purpose, that redound to the credit of all concerned; and a prospectus was prepared and afterwards prefixed to the Catalogue.

As soon as this prospectus was issued and distributed, replies to it were received from some of the first artists in the country, as well as from many amateurs,—those lovers of art for its own sake, whose works are always to be viewed with a lenient eye, and for whom the pen of criticism should ever be prepared with forbearance. In a letter from the secretary,

Mr. Taylor, addressed to Mr. Phillips, 4th May, 1784, alluding to the exhibition, he says, "We have got an excellent place for the exhibition, a large new house of Roscoe's, in the middle of his new street." This was the house in Rodney Street afterwards the residence of Pudsey Dawson, Esq., whose son the present Pudsey Dawson, Esq., of Hornby Castle, was born there, and more recently occupied by the late Mr. Egerton Smith. Now came the anxious moment; we read of the receipt of "large cases of pictures from various quarters," and in September, 1784, the first exhibition was opened in Liverpool.

On looking over the names of contributors, it will be seen that Mr. Roscoe himself contributed two pieces, Nos. 142 and 143; and that he had some knowledge of drawing may be seen by the etching which he made, as the admission ticket for the following exhibition, which took place in 1787. He made a great many others, amongst which are several book-plates which he executed *con amore* for his friends, some of them displaying great originality as regards the design and a free style of handling the dry point. It is not generally known that he executed several of the etchings in his great work on Monandrian plants, from drawings made by himself.

Henry Blundell, Esq., of Ince Blundell, the collector of the celebrated gallery of antique marbles, was also a great encourager of art, and the president of the first Liverpool Exhibition. Through the representations of Roscoe, soon after the founding of the Royal Institution, Mr. Blundell bequeathed the munificent sum of £1600 towards founding a gallery of art in Liverpool. One statue in the collection at Ince, the "Theseus," was considered by Flaxman to be one of the finest statues in the world.

Of the early Art education of Mr. Roscoe, we have an account in a short memoir of his early life, written by himself, in which he says that he used to assist the painters employed at a china manufactory, then absorbing the attention of the potters in Liverpool, who, at this early stage of the ceramic art had arrived at great perfection. Indeed, Liverpool claims the honour of being the nursing mother of most of those best artists, afterwards employed with so much success by Josiah Wedgwood, who for many years was even wont to send his ware to Liverpool to be ornamented. It was at this early period that Mr. Roscoe received instruction from Mr. Hugh Mulligan, an engraver for the potters, as well as a painter of porcelain, and whom, in after life, Mr. Roscoe never forgot; as I find recorded by a mutual friend, in an account prefixed to a portrait of Mulligan. He says of him, "Poor Hugh! tread lightly on his ashes ye men of goodness, for



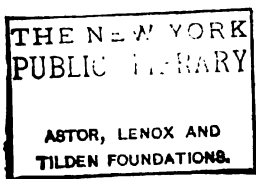
THE HOUSE IN WHICH MR. ROSCOE WAS BORN.



USED BY MR. ROSCOE AS A CREST.



**A CHAIR CONSTRUCTED FROM A BEAM
OF THE HOUSE IN WHICH
THE POET WAS BORN,
AND OCCUPIED
BY THE
EARL OF SEFTON,
PRESIDENT
AT THE
ROSCOE CENTENARY.**



he was your friend ! Poor little Mully ! the kindest hearted of all mortals, the most philanthropic, benevolent, and sensible creature that ever groped his way through the world in chill penury, blind alleys, or the garrets and souterrains of gaunt poverty. Like a sensitive plant among thistles, or St. Fond beset by bagpipes, didst thou pass through this purgatory without any real solace but an excellent heart, thy Sarah possessing every imaginary perfection of the dulcinea adored by the inimitable Knight of La Mancha, and thy beloved pipe of tobacco. These were thy domestic enjoyments ; and abroad, the kind notice of William Roscoe, and his amiable family, consoled thy gentle soul for every hardship, for every insult, to which thou wast for ever liable."

Amongst the many artists who at this time enjoyed the friendship of Mr. Roscoe, may be named George Stubbs, the animal painter ; Henry Hole, the wood engraver, a pupil of Bewick ; William Hughes, wood engraver, afterwards appointed engraver to the Prince-Regent ; Mather Brown, the painter of the picture of the parting of Louis XVI. and his family ; John Williamson, who painted the first portrait of Mr. Roscoe, (now exhibited.) And at a later period, Samuel Williamson, the landscape painter ; Mr. Crouchley, the sculptor, whose sketch of the transfiguration received the commendation of Mr. Roscoe as a more consistent work than that of Raffaele, inasmuch as the group was more in unity of design than that of the great Florentine painter ; Mr. Austin, the well-known water-colour draughtsman, whose original sketch of the house in which Mr. Roscoe was born is now before you, together with a letter of Mr. Roscoe's, confirming it as the place of his birth. We may also include the name of Mr. Thomas Dodd, of whose extensive knowledge of prints Mr. Roscoe availed himself, when illustrating Lanzi's history of Italian art. Mr. Dodd was an extraordinary instance of the results of perseverance. Being self-instructed, he became so thoroughly acquainted with the old masters, that if any doubt arose as to the authority of a print, Mr. Dodd's opinion was considered conclusive. During a long life he collected materials for a Biographical Dictionary of Engravers in England, commencing at the earliest period at which the art was practised, 1550 to 1800 ; the series of manuscripts forming nearly forty volumes, which he finished only a few days before his death.*

The great success of the exhibition stimulated the committee to con-

* This took place in Liverpool, August, 1850. See *Memoirs, Gentlemen's Mag.*

tinued exertions ; and we find the number of students increasing, and the academy growing more and more useful every day. In course of time, genius shewed itself so rife, that a second exhibition was determined on, in which will be seen the name of our townsman, Deare, who, under the guidance of Mr. Roscoe, soon made himself an honourable name. He was sent out by the Royal Academy to study in Rome, where, shortly afterwards, being attacked by malaria, he took fever and died. He was followed to his last resting place by nearly all the artists in Rome, who threw laurels on his grave, in token of their admiration of his talents.

Thus, we find the reputation of the taste of Liverpool increasing, by the number of pictures sent to it ; and amongst the contributors, we notice several names, which in after years, ranked high in art. But soon all the fond hopes of its founders were blasted by the breaking out of the French war, which shook the foundations of all society. In the midst of the general panic, the society for the encouragement of art became paralysed, and then died away ; but in the meantime, Mr. Roscoe was silently and steadily collecting, with good judgment, a series of etchings of the old masters, a knowledge of whose works from actual observation, enabled him to write the preface to Strutt's Dictionary of Engravers. This has been considered the best introduction to the subject treated of that has yet appeared, and has been translated into most of the modern languages.

During a long series of years devoted to a cultivation of art, Mr. Roscoe was in the habit of recording his observations on it by writing treatises on the various subjects which it embraces, and we find amongst his manuscripts several works which were probably intended for future publication. Amongst these may be named "A historical sketch of the state of the fine arts during the middle ages;" "On the origin of engraving on wood and copper;" "On the use of prints;" "On the practical part of painting;" "On the origin and progress of taste;" with many others, some of which were delivered as lectures at the meeting of the Society of Arts, and it is much to be regretted he did not live to see them through the press. Coming from the pen of one so singularly gifted with the power of discrimination, they would have been a delight to the educated, as well as an invaluable boon to the student in art. The preface to Mr. Daniel Daulby's catalogue of the Etchings of Rembrandt, we also owe to the pen of Mr. Roscoe. Mr. Daulby was brother-in-law to Mr. Roscoe, who often gave him the benefit of his advice in his purchases ; and it was to the zeal of Mr. Daulby

as a collector of the etchings of the old masters, that Liverpool owed the distinguished honour of possessing the most complete collection at that time known. Unfortunately at the death of Mr. Daulby, they were dispersed, and many of them now grace the national collections of Europe, where, in speaking of them, they are always alluded to as having formed part of "the celebrated Daulby collection."

Mr. Roscoe had many offers of great pecuniary advantage to induce him to write a history of the rise and decline of art in Italy, but his declining health forbade him accepting such engagements. He says in one of his letters, that art history is the subject he should like to write upon, it being his favourite study, but his age and delicate health are the great causes for his declining such engagements, which would involve him in more labour than he felt capable of undertaking.

Of the numerous artists who reaped advantages from the elegant conversation of Mr. Roscoe, and were admitted to share in his friendships and patronage, we must not omit the name of the great sculptor Gibson, our townsman, for whom Mr. Roscoe ever showed a kind of paternal solicitude. He was a principal means of Gibson's going to study in Rome, whence he often wrote to his early patron, and ever with that feeling of gratitude experienced by enlightened minds. We find him acknowledging the benefits he received from the permission which Mr. Roscoe gave him to copy some of his rare prints, at that time unattainable in Liverpool. They were from the old masters, and probably were a great means of fostering that love of purity of design so manifest in the early works of Gibson, and visible in the sketches now lying on the table before you. Such was the enthusiasm of Gibson throughout life, that in a letter in my possession, dated May 8, 1835, he says, "The beautiful medal of Mr. Roscoe, which you have so generously sent me, has given me more than one pleasure; the pleasure of seeing the old philosopher executed in this form, of seeing the beauty of the workmanship, and the pleasure of possessing this token of your kind remembrance. * * Time and hard-working have made me known, brought me encouragement and some credit. If I live some years longer, I hope to turn out something better than what I have hitherto done. I find myself improving, for I always endeavour to make the last work my best; the only ambition which rouses me in this world is that my name shall not die with my body. Whilst I am working on a marble statue, I spare no pains, forget profit, and say to myself—When this figure is hereafter found broken to pieces in the earth, every fragment of it shall rivet attention."

To show how nearly allied are the feelings of all great men, it may not be out of place to quote a passage from one of the letters of Mr. Roscoe, addressed to the Earl of Buchan, November 1, 1819. "I rejoice to find that you still continue to employ yourself in munificent plans for preserving the remains of antiquity, and the promotion of works of art. Philosophers may say what they please of posthumous fame, but I believe there never was an elevated mind that did not feel an invincible desire to leave a memorial of its existence on the records of the age, for the observation of future times."

Many were the works executed by Gibson, at the suggestion of Mr. Roscoe; but one we cannot omit to mention from the vigour and originality of the design—Alexander depositing the works of Homer, which was long placed on the mantle-piece of his patron, and is now in the library of the Royal Institution. Among the numerous life-sizes, miniatures, busts, and bas-relief portraits of Mr. Roscoe, there has been none equal to or conveying so just a likeness as the one by Gibson. That by Sir F. Chantry, at the gallery of arts, is one of those mistaken idealisations which are too often indulged in by the most eminent of artists; as we see in it very few of the lineaments of that high-souled, benevolent man, which we used to observe when looking at the original. Besides these, there were likenesses by Mr. Alexander Mosses, portrait painter; Mr. Thomas Hargreaves, to whom we owe the best miniature of Mr. Roscoe; Mr. Griffiths, also a miniature painter, whose portrait of Gibson, the sculptor, taken a few days before his leaving England, is a good example of his talents. Henry Fuseli, R.A., painted several subjects from the works of Mr. Roscoe, and to him Mr. Roscoe addressed an Ode of very great poetical and artistic feeling.

The interesting memoir written some years ago by his son Henry has given us, with the full feeling of a dutiful child's affection, the most important features in the life of Mr. Roscoe; and I feel that the attempt which I have made to add anything to them in which to interest you, may have been unsatisfactory. I hope for your indulgence, as there has not been any want of desire to add my humble contribution to the honors of the man. Perhaps I have failed in expressing those feelings of veneration for the poet and philosopher, which ever inspired me from the early day when I first saw him; and conscious as I am that I cannot add a leaf to the laurels that surround his brow, still, with an humble voice, united with that of thousands of his admirers, I can repeat—

"Stassi il lauro lieto."



ALEXANDER DEPOSITING THE WORKS OF HOMER.



HISTORY AND PAINTING CROWNING THE BUST OF ROSCOE.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

SIXTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 14th April, 1853.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of five Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected:—

Arthur Ellis, Melville Place, Oxford Street, Liverpool.
Richard Houghton, Crosby.
Henry Lyon, Appleton Hall, Cheshire.
Thomas Bromfield Ryder, Cuthbert's Buildings, Liverpool.
Charles Turner, Dingle Head, Liverpool.
James Vose, M.D., 5, Gambier Terrace, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

1. From the *Societies*.

Memoires de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville, 1849, 1850, 1851, et le premiere semestre de 1852.

Archæologia Cambrensis for April, 1853.

2. From *other* Donors.

From J. G. Jacob, Esq.	Four silver coins, three of them being of the English Edwards, and coined at Bristol, London, and Waterford, respectively; the fourth bearing the inscription, "Alexander Dei Gra Rex Scotorum."
From Saml. M'Culloch, Esq., LL.D.	Life of the late Samuel M'Culloch, a member of the Society, by the Rev. Dr. Thom.

From James Stonehouse, Esq. Various autographs of eminent persons.

"Ode on the institution of a Society in Liverpool for the encouragement of designing, drawing, painting, &c., read before the Society, December 13, 1773.

From John Grindlay. A local Act of Parliament of 1799, to amend the acts relating to the harbour of Liverpool, to make two wet docks, &c.

From Rev. P. S. Dale. MS. sermons preached in Warburton Church, Cheshire, by the Rev. Richard Grimshaw, shortly after 1660.

Arrangement for the funeral procession of the Earl and Countess of Derby, at Ormskirk, 4th March, 1776.

Curious placard issued by John Houghton, respecting the destruction of two pillars in front of his residence near Trueman street.

A local satire, under the form of an auction of the books of Bamber Gascoigne, Esq.

The following articles were EXHIBITED :—

By Richard Pedder, Esq., Preston. A curious antique silver ring, on one side of the top was a heart, and on the other, in old English letters, "Jesus."

By Dr. Hume. A specimen of sandstone highly elastic, procured at a quarry near Delhi, in India.

By Thomas D. Hibbert, Esq., London. A document entitled, *Inquisitio post mortem*, Francis Orrell, of flarington, Com Lancaster, 15 March, 16th James I. (1619-20.)

Additional letters of the Bateman series.

By Dr. Kendrick. An excellent likeness in profile, of Gilbert Wakefield, Esq.

A catalogue of Mr. Roscoe's books, as sold 19th August, 1816, with prices annexed.

By Jas. Stonehouse, Esq. A curiously carved tobacco pipe, of wood.

By John Orr. A volume of Henry Stephens' *Greek Test.*, 1576.

Mr. Gath drew attention to the fact of the death of another member, William Dalrymple, Esq.

A copy of the *Tasmanian Colonist*, (Van Dieman's Land) of September 6, 1852, was laid upon the table, containing a report of part of the

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MAINS HALL, LANCASHIRE

Society's proceedings. This is the second Australian newspaper in which notices of the Society have been discovered. *Vide* p. 73.

A communication was read from Mr. Boardman, suggesting the propriety of placing an inscription at the corner of Hope street and Mount Pleasant, indicating the position of Mr. Roscoe's birthplace.

Two additional letters were read, addressed by F. D. Browne (Mrs. Hemans) to Matthew Nicholson, Esq., the one dated August 11th, 1810, the other July, 1811. The former exhibited a clear impression of her seal, which consisted of the three initial letters of her name placed triangularly, with a lyre in the centre.

Dr. Hume explained the nature of the memorial which was about to be forwarded by Societies and Institutions in the town, inviting the British Association for the Advancement of Science to meet here next year. Deputies had also been appointed to give effect to the invitation at Hull. The former meeting was held in Liverpool, in 1837.

PAPERS.

I.—AN ACCOUNT OF MAINS HALL, NEAR POULTON, THE HIDING-PLACE OF CARDINAL ALLEN, IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

By the Rev. Wm. Thornber, B.A., Blackpool.

According to the Domesday Survey, six carucates of land were assigned to Singleton, and in the reign of King John, Alan de Singleton is recorded as being its local lord. He was a considerable landed proprietor in the hundred—a person of authority, who acted as king's bailiff within the wapentakes of Amounderness and Blackburn, and made attachments and executions of writs, and attachments of pleas of the crown, by warrant of the serjeantry which was annexed and appurtenant to his manor of Little Singleton. In the early pedigree there is some confusion, owing to the common custom of mesne lords witnessing deeds, at one time by the appellation of one property, then of another, thus:—William, the son of the second Allan, in the chartulary of Whalley Abbey, sometimes signs his name William Singleton, and sometimes William Thorneton, because of his property in that township. It would seem that the first Allan was a favourite with King John, if we are to give credence to a well-authenticated tradition, which tells us, that whilst Earl of Moreton, he frequently visited his fief of Singleton, as well as the grange of Staining, where he became acquainted with Geoffrey Balistrarius, the ancestor of the Sherburns, and whose valour in

the Irish wars he rewarded by grant of lands in our neighbourhood. It was by such acts as these that the King, both as Earl of Moreton and King John, however he might be estimated in other parts of the kingdom, was popular in Lancashire. His gifts of lands and quitclaims to the church were numerous. Parva Singleton was held by the local family till the reign of the first Edward, when it passed to the Banisters; from Richard, Allan, William, Allan Singleton to Thomas, who, dying without issue, left a sister, Johanna, the wife of Thomas Banastre, now conceded by genealogists to have been of the same family as the Banisters of the Bank. This latter Thomas had a son William, father of Sir Adam, a turbulent knight, who was parent of Thomas, whose lands were escheated to the Duchy in the 7th of Richard II. Parva Singleton next fell to the lot of the rapacious Edmund Dudley, who was attainted and executed A.D. 1510, and afterwards, doubtless by grant of the escheat, it came into the hands of Thomas, Earl of Derby, who held it of the King, 13th Hen. VIII.

I have given the above brief account of Little Singleton, because Mains Hall is situated within that manor, and because there, I believe, we shall find the site of the mansion where the mesne local lords issued laws to their vassals and free tenants, and where they passed their lives, not indeed in luxury and splendour, but in a manner which the humblest gentleman or tradesman would at present deem as pitiful and mean. Certainly, the local family would locate themselves on the ground, whence they derived their power. The serjeantry of Amounderness and Blackburn was annexed to the manor of Little Singleton, as before mentioned. I have remarked, moreover, that in the Fylde the hamlets styled "Little Tons," in contradistinction to their parents, "Great Tons," invariably have had their rise from having been either the locality of the seat of the mesne lord, as at Little Carleton, &c.; or of the grange of some Abbey, as at Little Poulton, Little Bispham, &c. I am not aware of any instance indicating that the mesne lord and the churchman erected their hall and grange at the same side of the township. Here, too, on the banks of the Wyre, was the most eligible spot for a resident family, and the name "Mains," evidently demesne, marks the lord's land around his mansion. I feel that I am treading on tender ground, for my neighbours have supposed, why, I know not, that this estate was a grange, dignified as usual here, with the name of hall, after the reformation, and had belonged, together with Poulton, to the Priory of St. Mary's, at Lancaster, and afterwards to Sion Abbey: thus, owing to the acknowledged right of the Cister-

cian farmers to become tithe free, I know that Roger de Poitou, in his sweeping charter, gave to St. Mary's, of Lancaster, the tithes of poultry, calves, lambs, goats, swine, &c., and cheese and butter in Singleton: also, that there was a grange in Great Singleton, still recognized by that name; but never have I read or heard of any papers having reference to another grange in the other division of the township. And this may be corroborated by the following fact:—In an agreement made in the reign of Edward III, between the Prior of Lancaster and Sir Adam Banister, the knight consents to grant two roads across his lands, for the use of the servants and carriages of the churchman's vassals and tenants. Now one of these roads ran across the manor of Little Singleton, and beneath Mains Hall, from the towns of Pulton and Thorneton to Singleton Park, by the way to the ford of Aldwather—i. e. the Shard—in the Wyre. Why ask permission to traverse Little Singleton, if it were the property of his priory? Why desirous of a road to Singleton Park, unless the Prior of St. Mary's owned it? This park was in Great Singleton, a portion of the grange, a park that needed no "*licentia imparcandi*," since it was merely a parcel of enclosed ground, used, most likely, for the herding of cattle from the out pastures.

I have had no opportunity of learning when the Heskeths—of whom it is my object more especially to write—purchased the Mains. By patent of 20 James I, possession was given of several estates belonging to the crown, among which was the "manor or lordship of Singleton, alias Singleton Magna in the several tenures of the different tenants there." The Mains may have been purchased at this time. The Heskeths, however, it is evident from dates on the walls, made great alterations in this reign: whether they had occupied it previously, I do not assert; certainly they held it in tenure in the time of Elizabeth, if not earlier. Like many other families, they had been brought into the Fylde either by marriage with a local proprietor's daughter, or more probably by the purchase of Abbey property, during the convulsion of society at, and after the dissolution of religious houses. William Hesketh, who married Elizabeth, the daughter of John Allen, of Rossal, is first styled of Poulton. They soon, however, formed other connections in the neighbourhood, and their marriages and intermarriages with the Westbys, of Mowbrick and Bourne, the Andertons, of Euxton, and the Allens, of Rosshall, stamp their religious and political bias; but it is their connection with the last-named family that renders

their pedigree interesting; otherwise, it might have been consigned without loss to oblivion. I shall not, however, trouble you with the whole of it, as it may be found in the Visitation of 1618. Thus much may be necessary. The Heskeths sprang from the first wife of Bartholomew, the illegitimate son of William Hesketh, of Rufford Hall, and they became extinct in James, of Mains, who, after assuming the maiden name of his mother, Brockholes, and at the decease of Catherine, her sister the Duchess of Norfolk, becoming possessed of Claughton, devised, at the death of his infant daughter, his estates to W. Fitzherbert, the brother of his wife, and second son of Thomas, of Swinnerton Hall, county Stafford, with injunction to take the name and arms of Brockholes; thus cutting off his own sister, whose issue, until lately, resided at Larbreck, but are now extinct.

I have said that the Heskeths, of Mains, were conspicuous principally on account of their connection with the Allens, of Rossal Grange, and since enquiries have been made of me, through a friend, for Dr. Lingard, and of late by many others interested in the genealogy of Cardinal Allen, I shall not be deemed intrusive, if I suggest, that Wood and Dodd have omitted a generation; because in the genealogy of the Allens of Brook House, a John of Rossal, who is mentioned as the father-in-law of Radulph, must must have been earlier than John Allen, the father, or even George, the grandfather of the Cardinal, to have had a daughter married in the reign of Richard III., 1483-5; as the churchman was born 1532.

John, not George Allen, the grandfather of the Cardinal, was the first lessee of Rossal, a grange of Deulacress, county Stafford, which he held on a long lease, by favour of the Abbot, his relative. In the 20th of Richard II, A.D. 1397, Whittle names him as a donor to the fraternities of Preston Guild, and described as of Ross-hall. This family must not be confounded, as is usual, with the Allens of Brook house, Staffordshire. They had different arms—that of Rossal bearing argent 3 conies, or rabbits passant, sable; the other party per chev., gules and ermine, in the upper part two lions heads erased or. Their pedigree, so long sought, is as follows:—John Allen, of Rosshall, had a daughter and son; Elizabeth, the wife of Ralph Allen, of Brookhouse, and George, whose son John, by marriage with Joan, daughter of ——— Lyster, of Westby, county York, had Gabriel, who died in Italy; Richard, William the Cardinal, George the eldest, and Elizabeth, the wife of William Hesketh, of Poolton. This

George married Elizabeth, daughter of William Westby, of Westby and Mowbrick, and had three daughters,—Mary, Catherine, a nun at Louvain, and Helen; and one son John, the husband of the daughter and heiress of ——— Carleton, of Carleton, by whom he had a daughter, living A.D. 1620, and the wife of Thomas Worthington, of Blainscoe, and the Holmes in Thornton. The old grange, where this family of the Allens resided, and where the Cardinal was born, stood at Fenny, near Rossal Point, the conjunction of the sea and river Wyre. It was not the Rossal Hall now converted into a college:—the pet saying of Gabriel, the priest's brother—"Merrie days of hie away to Rossal Point"—determines the spot. And here, formerly, the remains of such a building existed. The vast inroads of the sea have now washed away the thick red sand-stone gable wall, which an old man, of 104 years of age, told me he remembered, when young, covered with ivy, and tottering over the brink of the cliff. Here, also, have been disclosed an ancient hand stone mill, some monkish figures in alabaster, &c., and in the *churchyard field, adjoining, some human bones, within the foundations of a fabric, running east and west, and supposed to have been the site of the chantry of the grange, which were often small priories, like that of Staining, where, so early as the removal of Stanlaw to Whalley, two monks, Lene and Niger, were stationed. On the warren, also, close by, a spot named the Abbot's Walk, carries us back to the days when the head of Deulacress visited his tenant of Rossal.

Of the Cardinal, tradition reports little more, than that whilst in hiding at the halls of Mains and Layton, he disseminated treasonous tracts, and was desirous that the Spanish Armada should effect a landing on the English shores, at the Peel of Foudrey, and in the Wyre. This is no foolish tradition. In a book, dated 1671, I find it related that the Jesuit parsons encouraged King Phillip, whose surname was Norway, or Norroway, to attempt an invasion, by citing this old prophecy:—

" Between Boston's bay
And the Pile of Foudray,
Shall be seen the black navy of Norway."

Moreover, I read this in the Lansdowne MSS., endorsed—Touchinge a plac, called the Pille in Lanc., a dangerous place for Landinge.—"What

* This has been mistaken for the Chapel of All Hallows, which Leland places at the mouth of the Wyre. Bispham Church and the houses adjacent, now called Churchtown, are the chapel and village of All Hallows; as a legend on a lately restored sacramental cup manifests.

the Spanyerd means to do, the Lord knowes, for all the countrye being knowne to Doctor Allen, (who was born hard by the pyle) and inhabytentes ther aboutes, all ynfectet with his Romish poyson, yt is not unlike, but his directione will be vsed for some landing ther." The Armada landed not; but one of its scattered ships was stranded for some hours opposite the confiscated home of the traitor Allen. When the translation of a rare old latin manuscript, entitled *Concertatio*, which I am in hopes of seeing published by a reverend Roman Catholic friend, shall appear, many other things will be revealed, to illustrate the period of the Spanish invasion; for I am informed that it tells us how Fleetwood purchased of the king the fee of Rossal Grange—how he deprived the Cardinal's nieces of the estate of Todderstaff, the gift of one of their uncles—how the deeds were stolen when Rossal was plundered at night by the sheriff and his people—how the sisters escaped, during this outrage, in a boat across the Wyre, and after wandering about for two weeks, by chance found their mother—and how, when by the instrumentality of a spy, £500 of their money had been discovered in a meal tub, at the house of one Anion, and confiscated, they were compelled to seek safety with their uncle, on the continent. The translation and publication of such a fund of local history, will be hailed with satisfaction by the readers in the Fylde.

We will return to Mains Hall, and we will approach it along the banks of the Wyre, the road that was granted by the Banisters to the Priory of Lancaster—the highway on the south, called the Mains Lane, is of modern construction. What a pleasant retreat! and how gracefully the river glides beneath the brow of the sloping hill, on which the hall is built. One glimpse shows us that it is, or has been, the residence of a family of consequence. There are woods, and gardens, and terraces, shaded avenues, fish ponds, and a large dovecot. But before we enter the precincts of the house, cast your eye on the tofts of alder trees, two or three in every field. They surround very ancient slade-pits, i. e. marl holes, having two paces or slades. From these the land was tilled, when the Fylde roads were so impassable, that manure from any distance could not be obtained. But haste along, we will make our way up the Nun's Walk, this pleasant avenue of hazel trees. The back of the house, which, when first erected, was the front, has suffered less than other parts by modern alterations: it still retains nearly entire its prominent centre gable, with its two wings, all three being lighted by narrow ranges of windows. The present front, to

the south, consisted, not long ago, of three sides of a quadrangle; on the west, the wing now destroyed, a very antique building, within which was a hall-part, having a huge open chimney, and wainscotted with fluted oak of the reign of Henry VIII, now rotting unheeded in the garrets of the hall. From this hall-part was entered the pantry, and "chomer," which latter was fancifully paved in patterns, with various coloured small stones, formerly preferred in parlours to a flooring of flags. Here, also, when the workmen were pulling it down, was disclosed a priest hole, between a stack of chimneys, which had been entered from a small upper closet, by a ladder; a most uncomfortable cell, both dark and confined, where the wretched inmate, Dr. Allen, Father Campion, and the persecuted priest of Titus Oates, in succession, stretched his limbs on the straw that was found still littering the floor. On the east of the quadrangle is the chapel; the date of its erection is yet visible on the outward wall, 1626. We can contrive to enter it by the stables, the staircase from the outside having been removed years ago. Take heed how you tread on the time-worn boards. Since my last visit in 1845, it has been denuded of its interesting relics; even then desolation was triumphant. The picture of the Virgin, and her infant Son, had fallen from its position over the altar, the rails of which were mouldering in decay, and the walls green with damp. They were dead who had worshipped there: it had been venerated by them, ah! how dearly! An escutcheon spoke of the demise of one of the squires of the hall—various portions of scripture rules, dogmas and ordinances of the church of Rome, in worm-eaten frames, and covered with the dust of years, hung neglected—a sorrowful memento that there was no priest to minister, no devoted Anna to brush away the leaven of forgetfulness from the consecrated altar.

The hall in the centre of the quadrangle, had from time to time been altered and realtered, modernized and remodernized. It is now like an old lady, painted and decked out in showy attire, yet unable to disguise her antiquated features. It had been thatched in 1784, as I find from the following bill:—

For winskowing ye gable of ye ould hous.....	00	04	00
For 24 thrave of straw for ye ould hous, at 8d. per thrave	00	16	00
For drawing the straw into thack.....	00	03	00
For thatching ye ould hous	00	18	04

I must again refer to my last visit. The alterations of 1846 have almost

guted the interior, so I am anxious to describe it as it appeared previously. "The old housekeeper met me at the door. Her grandmother and mother had occupied, like herself, the station as matron: from childhood to old age she had lived at the hall. If you would see her portrait, dip into one of the volumes of Mrs. A. Radcliffe, and you will find it; only perhaps the housekeepers of romance did not wear bed-gowns, with the lappets tucked up at each hip, and a pendant pincushion, with a goodly sized pair of scissors. I always thought her superior to any of Mrs. Radcliffe's creation; but she had one fault, to me a great one,—she was not garrulous, or what strange secrets might she not have revealed. I however fared not badly. You have read in German romance, of benighted travellers falling upon castles in the midst of forests, which, on entering, they found uninhabited; yet furnished with antique, massive household goods. The owners had deserted their property for years, and nothing had been disturbed. The tapestry still clothed the walls—the lady's lyre and books lay on the table—the embers were scattered on the hearth, and scraps of letters were strewed around. The intruder is expecting every moment the entrance of the lord of the domain, in the antiquated dress of bye-gone days. Just so appeared Mains Hall. Little or nothing had been removed since the death of the Heskeths, and for many a year before, the family had contented itself with the homely, but substantial furniture of their fathers. Even to the candlesticks and snuffers, every household article was a hundred and fifty years old. As I stood in the hall-part, the matron informed me—"That it was here that Madame Hesketh, in the absence of her husband, unwillingly entertained a marauding party of Scotch troopers, in the outbreak, 1715."

"And William Hesketh," said I, "acted prudently to absent himself; for I have heard my mother relate, that although in 1715 he escaped the notice of government through the kindness of the squire of Bankfield, his neighbour, yet he was aware that he was suspected of being friendly disposed towards the Pretender; so, under the surveillance of Mr. Tennant, of Poulton, he withdrew during the hubbub at Preston, to the secrecy of Rossall warren, where the deeds of his estate would be secure, and his person out of harm's way."

"Humph! the Pretender!" was the sharp reply of the dame.

We ascended the broad staircase into the drawing room. "This is now

our store room," said the housekeeper, "but the greatest in the land has trodden these boards." "Say you so?"

Whilst Mrs. Fitzherbert was sojourning with her relations, the Prince Regent paid her a visit at the Mains. This room looked not as it does at present. There was an antique costly glass between the windows, and in the panel over the fire place, was inserted a picture, much admired. I believe it was an historical painting of the Norfolks. There was a young man kneeling before one of the noble dukes, and presenting him with a sword. There had been a suite of rooms here, but the adjoining one had been converted into a bedchamber, during the sickness of the last of the Heskeths. It was furnished in keeping with the rest, containing a half canopied bed with dark hangings, a few heavy chairs, and a very old dressing glass. In the next, was a library of illuminated manuscripts and missals, without backs, in one of which I saw the autograph of Cardinal Allen, the ink yellow with age; also the rules of the Order of the Garter, written on vellum in the reign of Henry VIII., and having on the title page the crest and arms of Norfolk and Brockholes, surrounded with the garter. In a secret drawer I discovered a paper box, shaped like a heart, which was divided into many compartments, each encircling a piece of bone, a fragment of the body of some saint, for they were all labelled, though I forget with whose names. Leading from the library were two oratories, each lighted with two narrow apertures. In one, the squire had offered up his orisons—in the other, he had kept his accounts; for numerous bills of 1700, and earlier, were scattered about, suspended from the walls, and rolled up in the drawers of a curious cabinet; on the removal of which, some time after the visit I am describing, was found a picture of our Saviour's descent from the cross, of no merit, but so very vividly depicting his agony, the wound made by the spear, his head lacerated with thorns, and the drops of blood, like bullets, falling from his hands and feet, as to create a shudder of horror. It had been an ancient altar piece. From a corner of this closet the housekeeper produced a tall stick, which I should have pronounced to have belonged to a son of Anak, had not I seen some of our octogenarians walking with such, and grasping them, like Jacob his staff, about a foot from the top. This was ornamented with a cardinal's cap, a whistle, and with the date 1628, the legend "*Periissem si non Periissem*" wreathed round the lower part. Why a cardinal's cap?

and had it any reference to the churchman Allen? These questions are as perplexing as the device. The true rendering of the latter, however, I am now acquainted with. In the reign of Robert the Third, of Scotland, Sir W. Anstruther, called Fisher Willie, of the castle of Dreel, killed the laird of Thirdpart, who was plotting to pay him the same compliment. The king not only pardoned him, but gave him a new coat of arms, with a motto similar to that on the stick at Mains hall, consisting of two verbs of the same construction, but different meanings. The legend may be translated thus—I should have perished, if I had not gone through with it; or, more freely—I should have died, if I had not killed him. How this device came to be carved beneath a cardinal's cap on a walking stick at the Mains, is beyond my comprehension. The matron also exhibited here two portraits on glass, once the ornaments of some window—one, that of a burly looking personage in a broad brimmed hat, and said to have been a Hesketh. On one corner of the pane of glass, were two figures of the date 16 . . , the rest was broken off. The other portrait was a knight in full armour.

I was next ushered into the back offices. The butler's pantry was still stored with old black bottles, having W. & M. and 1630 upon them. There also were ranged singular shaped brazen hot water jugs, with cane on the handles to protect from heat, a rope legged oval oak table, and a narrow settle with holes inserted in its seat for the purpose of draining cleansed bottles. On the armoire stood lamps, wooden and brass candlesticks, that might have been brought from Pompeii, unique glasses, china cups and bowls, &c., &c., and other utensils too various to enumerate: the very names of which I was ignorant of. Then there was the kitchen—with what rude, clumsy articles was it furnished—even the tongs and poker belonged not to this generation. I remarked the little bronze trones, the carved salt pix, the pith board for the amusement of the servants, the cat locker, the linen kist, the bread rack, the pewter frame, the wag byth' wo, or metal faced cadjum clock, with "Breckal de Holmes" fecit upon it, and a date proclaiming that it was more than two hundred years old. But the huge brick oven attracted my notice particularly. It was capacious enough to cook provisions for a regiment of soldiers. Once a year, however, the matron informed me, it was wont to be filled, when the mansion was occupied in the days of the Heskeths. On Christmas eve, after feeding all the cattle with a sheaf of corn, every man on the estate was, of yore, supplied

with materials for raised pies, to the size of which none were stinted, if he could squeeze it through the oven's mouth; and this "awmas" was for generations called a "Dilworth," from a traditionary greedy fellow having made one of such monstrous size, that he could not bake it.

I am happy in having been allowed this opportunity of describing this my visit to Main's Hall, when it stood intact in its pristine homeliness. I watched the last alterations with sorrow, thinking, "Shall not I do what I will with my own?" a very doubtful query. I hovered around, and one day meeting the architect, enquired of him, "Whether he had met with any thing worthy of notice?" "The walls," he replied, "are the walls of a castle; some of the interior ones being more than a yard in thickness—a useless expenditure of room."

"Ah!" said I, "when they were built, the protection of the subject lay not in the laws, but in strong walls."

"And in hiding places; for between two walls we disclosed a secret recess, most adroitly concealed. Moreover, on moving a creaky board beneath the old bedstead, we took out a plain silver cross, black with age; no doubt valuable, as having received the blessing of the pope, or having belonged to some persecuted priest. More than one piece of the cannon money of James has been collected from the rubbish."

The Heskeths lived in great retirement, some of them almost in monkish privacy; whilst others of them have enjoyed their property, like other country squires. Though rigid Romanists and stout Jacobins, they ever lived in terms of intimacy with their protestant neighbours. I have heard my late mother tell, how she being invited to Mains Hall, when a girl, admired a large doll, which a daughter of the family, who had taken the veil abroad, had habited like herself after her inauguration. This was the lady who, driven from France at the revolution, founded an asylum at Preston; but on peace with England being proclaimed, returned to the continent. The Heskeths appear to have been of a robust habit of body, like other natives of the Fylde; for their apothecary's bills, though curious morceaux, with their "gargarisms, implasts, volatile draughts, carminative stomackic decotions, &c.," are of rare occurrence, which may partly be ascribed to the ladies and gentlemen not lolling in close stuffed carriages, in preference to taking their airings on the pillion, or on horseback. Indeed,

deed, carriages were unknown in the Fylde; so their saddler's account for 1716, has no reference to any trappings, save horse gear, thus:—

Stuffing a pad saddle.....	00	00	04
Chambering your horse saddle.....	00	00	02
A pair of bridle bits.....	00	00	06
A dubel garth	00	01	01
A new saddle.....	00	16	00
A pillion cloth	00	05	00

I might have mentioned some singular items in the bills of a sick young cadet of the family, whilst seeking at Rome the pope's blessing; but I will finish my paper with the letter of a haberdasher in London, to the ladies of Mains Hall, in 1730. I copy it from the original one before me:—

Sor,

I had the favor of yours and on the twelv instant sent your box with every thing you reet for, which I hop your lady will like. as to ye mode of ye ladys wer ther stays, very low before, ther gowns meets before at botms, upon the brest open about three fingers, ther stays very short and wid and ther hoops very larg at the top and very high behind. I have sent Miss (her) mob as ye ladys now wers them in full dress. As to ther rideng habets ye were no tgorkes but butens and buten hools, both to ther rideng gowns and gakets. I hop your lady will like ye coler of her grogreem. It is a coler that houds ye best of thos colers. I beg my hombel respects to her. I purpos seen Lanchershire ye ferst weke in Agst &c &c This is all from, sor, your most humbel servant to command.

fleetwood Butler.

July 16, 1730.

To William Hesketh Esq at Mans neare Poulten Lanc.

Note.—Since the visit described in the paper, certain alterations have been made on the exterior, by the present occupant. The illustration, from a drawing made in August, 1858, exhibits the more modern front.

II.—NOTICE OF THE BAPTISMAL MARRIAGE AND BURIAL REGISTERS RESPECTING MR. ROSCOE.

By James Boardman, Esq.

I.—BIRTH

Mr. Roscoe was born at the *Old Bowling Green House*, situate near the junction of Hope Street and Mount Pleasant. Neither this nor the New Bowling Green House, situate lower down the hill, nearly opposite Roscoe Street, was considered as being in Liverpool at the time of the publication of the first Directory, in 1766, which accounts for the omission of the name of Mr. Roscoe's father as a householder. The place of Mr. Roscoe's birth is not mentioned in the entry. The Registration Act, which came into operation in 1837, under which the writer received the appointment of Superintendent Registrar of Liverpool, requires entries of the hour and place of birth, which may often be of great importance, to be known.

II.—BAPTISM.

Benn's Garden Chapel,* which was erected by the English Presbyterians about the year 1728, was the place of worship which Mr. Roscoe's father attended. Ardent as the members of this sect were in their demands for civil and religious liberty, it is to be feared that they wished the extension of the blessing to be limited to those within the pale of their own church ; certainly no Papist or Jew need have asked for equal rights. Their tenets were either Trinitarian or Arian ; and although no doubt there were some who went a step or two nearer to the opinions of their descendants, the Unitarians of the present day, penal laws sealed their lips. All abhorred the organ and the surplice ; and indeed the latter vestment seemed to have had an effect upon their nervous system similar to that upon the bull before the red flag of the Chulillos.

This entry of the birth and baptism of Mr. Roscoe, together with all the entries in the Register Books of Catholics and Nonconformists in England and Wales made prior to July 1, 1837, and deposited in the Non-Parochial Register Office, London, are now legalized by act of parliament, and are admissible as evidence in courts of law. Although the signature of the minister who performed the rite of baptism on the infant Roscoe does not

* "*Benn's Garden Chapel, Liverpool*, William, son of William Roscoe, innkeeper, born March 8, 1768, baptized March 28."

appear in the record, it was most probably Dr. Henderson, the minister of the chapel, and afterwards on his conformity minister of St. Paul's Church. *Vide* the Rev. Dr. Thom's records.

III.—MARRIAGE.

Claudius Origan,* afterwards Bishop of Sodor and Man, to which See he was presented by the Duke of Athol, who was at that time in a delicate state of health, and was said to have been selected as a 'locum tenens' for one of the Athol family not then ready to assume the charge. But the invigorating air of the Isle of Man, together with a mind at ease in pecuniary matters, had such an effect upon the valetudinarian that he rapidly recovered, and lived to enjoy the episcopate twenty-five years.

The Bishop was a man of agreeable manners and lively conversation. His church in Liverpool was the favourite temple of Hymen. My father, who visited the Isle of Man for forty-five consecutive years, regularly dined with his Lordship at Bishop's Court on his annual trip; and on the two last of these visits I had the pleasure to accompany him. Well I remember the awe with which I approached his Lordship on the first, on my leaving school; attired as he was in a full suit of black velvet and powdered wig. I find the following entry on the subject in my boyish journal. "After dinner walked in the garden with the Lord Bishop, who behaved in the most friendly and affectionate manner, questioning me in my reading and studies, instructing and advising me on various topics. On taking leave, he invited me to Bishop's Court, and placing his hands on my head in the most pathetic manner gave me his blessing and best wishes for my prosperity in life, in such words as I shall never forget." My second visit was soon after the glorious triumph of philanthropy, in which Mr. Roscoe had taken so important a part, the abolition of the African slave trade by England.

The Bishop had served as a chaplain to the forces in the West India colonies, and had there married a lady interested in slave property, his

* "*Chapel of St. Anne, Liverpool.* William Roscoe, of the parish of Liverpool, gentleman, and Jane Griffies, of the same place, spinster, were married in this chapel, by licence, this twenty-second day of February, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, by me,
C. ORIGAN, Minister."

This marriage was solemnized between us William Roscoe, Jane Griffies, in the presence of Samuel Aspinwall, Betty Griffies. No. 681.

(Copy) WM. WHEELER, Incumbent, March 16th, 1853.

N.B.—Mr. Aspinwall or Aspinall was the partner of Mr. Roscoe.

views on the subject were consequently biassed, and to my great surprise as well as sorrow, for young as I was I had imbibed Mr. Roscoe's principles, his Lordship defended the system of negro slavery as warmly as any Liverpool trader. And to illustrate the happy state of negro life, he sung a stave or two of a nigger song, accompanied by all the ludicrous gesticulations which we have witnessed in our visit to the Ethiopian serenaders.

On Dr. Crigan's appointment to the bishopric, Mr. Thomas Chubbard, a very talented Liverpool artist, at the Bishop's desire painted his portrait episcopally attired, but his Lordship refused to take it, although an admirable likeness, at the same time telling Mr C. that he might have it engraved for sale. Mr. C. however would not make the speculation, and in his atelier it continued to hang when I received my drawing lessons. After the Bishop's death it was purchased by the family. This portrait was an object of attraction in the first exhibition in Liverpool, held in the autumn of the year 1788, the catalogue of which Mr. Mayer has done a service to the friends of the fine arts in Liverpool by republishing.

IV.—BURIAL.

Mr. Roscoe having died previously to the Act for the Registration of Deaths coming into operation, there is no legal record of the time and place of his death, but merely of his burial.* I merely mention the fact to show how defective the law was prior to the passing of the Act of William IV., for the registration of births, deaths, and marriages in England, and what a valuable measure it is, although like most reforms it was assailed on its introduction.

The funeral of Mr. Roscoe was conducted agreeably to his wishes in an unostentatious manner. The mortal remains of this great man were met on the way, from his last residence in Lodge Lane, by the Members of the Literary and Philosophical Society, the Committee of the Royal Institution, and a numerous body of his friends and admirers, who preceded them into the chapel, where the funeral service was performed by his much loved and valued friend, the late Rev. William Shepherd, LL.D.

* "*Renshaw Street Chapel, Liverpool*, [Burial] July 5th, 1831. William Roscoe, gentleman, Lodge Lane, aged 78, Grave No. 1, WM. SHEPHERD."

(Copy) SAM'L. THORNTON, March 16th, 1853.

SEVENTH MEETING.

Royal Institution, 5th May, 1853.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of two Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected :—

John Lawler Bagot, Great Orford Street, Liverpool.
Benjamin Witham Booth, Swinton, Manchester.
William Harrison, Ballachrink, St. John's, Isle of Man.
John Wrigley MacRae, Edge Lane, Liverpool.
Alexander Henry Wylie, 6, Catherine Street, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS were laid upon the table :—

1. From the *Authors*.

From M. de Perthes Abbeville, France, Hon. Mem.	Nineteen vols. of his own works, viz.— De la Creation, Essai sur l'origine et la progression des Etres 5 vols. Hommes et Choses 4 „ Petit Glossaire 2 „ Sujets Dramatiques 2 „ Emma ou Quelques Lettres de Femme... 1 „ Satires Contes et Chansonnettes ... 1 „ Opinions de M. Christophe 1 „ Chants Armoricaens 1 „ Nouvelles 1 „ Romances, Ballades, et Legendes .. 1 „
From Dawson Turner, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c., Hon. Mem.	Descriptive Index of the contents of MS. vols., illustrative of the History of Great Britain, 8vo., 1851.

Kirkpatrick's History of the Religious Orders in Norwich, 8vo., 1845.

Lichenographia Britannica (privately printed), 8vo., 1839.

Muscologiae Hibernicae Spicilegium, 12mo., 1804.

From Charles Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iii, part 1. Esq., F.S.A.

The following articles were EXHIBITED :—

By William Nisbet, Esq., Egremont.

A selection from the collection of the late Thomas Binns, Esq., consisting of (1) a catalogue of 30 vols. of prints and drawings, illustrative of the History and Topography of Lancashire; (2) the ninth vol. of the collection, consisting chiefly of charts and views of Liverpool and the Mersey.

Part I of Roscoe's work on Monandrian Plants.

Fifteen published portraits of Roscoe, inlaid with other portraits of local interest, all previous to 1830.

By J. Stonehouse, Esq.

A play bill, and three concert bills, referring to Liverpool about 1767, and 1768.

By Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A.

A descriptive catalogue of 107 diamonds in the cabinet of the late Sir Abraham Hume, Bart., M.P., written in French by Count Bournon, with plates; showing the various modes of crystallization, 4to., 1815.

By John Orr.

The Historie of the Life and Death of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, 16mo., London, 1686.

By Dr. Hume.

Various Brass Rubbings from Sefton, &c.

By John Ireland Blackburne, Esq., Hale.

A collection of letters and papers relating to the Liverpool Election of 1670, including one from the Duke of Monmouth.

By Dr. Kendrick, from the Rev. P.A. Hampson.

A printed sermon by Martin Luther. There were several MS. corrections of the text, and on a blank page at the end, was written "Martin Luther, Wirtemberg."

Attention was drawn to the first two numbers of a 12mo periodical published at Manchester, edited by T. Worthington Barlow, Esq., F.L.S., styled "The Cheshire and Lancashire Historical Collector."

2-11-28
PAPERS.

I.—ON THE HISTORY OF NAVAL TERMS.

By the Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A., Principal of the Collegiate Institution.

I need not begin this paper by an argument in praise of the study of words. That words, considered merely as words, are full of instructive phenomena; that language contains in its very texture a manifold record of the past; that endless stores of suggestive associations are laid up in our commonest phraseology,—all this is so readily recognised by all who have ever thought on the subject, that it would be a needless delay to attempt to prove it. This truth has been expressed in a manner so lively and so well adapted to our present topic, by a writer in an American periodical, that I will adopt the passage as my introduction to this paper.

“To the scholar, words seem instinct with meaning and life, even when they stand alone. Each one of them has, in the first place, a parentage from which it springs according to laws almost as settled as those of physical generation. They reflect, too, the image of their parent, and carry the marks of relationship upon their faces. Differ they may greatly in moral characteristics, in importance and frequency of use, from their venerated progenitors; but they can never escape from the resemblance in sound and sense which their birth has enstamped upon them. Sometimes they are settlers on a foreign soil, and trace back to an ancestry in some older land, perhaps to an ancestry now dead, at least to a dead language. But the philologist comes, and by a few strokes of his pen clears up the family genealogy, shows, perhaps, when they changed their domicile, and how by degrees they acquired the rights of citizens. Sometimes a single straggler or two comes from the antipodes, led away from his fireside in the course of trade, as a solitary merchant will settle at some trading post among the Indians. Perhaps they find it necessary to suit foreign ears by a considerable alteration of external appearance, so that a relative at home would scarcely recognise them in their transformation. But the master of languages is a spy upon them, from whom they can seldom escape. Those few who are sons of nobody, and whose parentage cannot be traced, are more badly off than their brethren in this—that philologists, instead of letting them alone, torment them with a thousand exploring questions, offer impertinent conjectures as to who their fathers were, and often give them an unpleasant prominence by inventing for them a very improbable or absurd genealogy.”

These are the remarks of a writer in the "New Englander." Now, looking at language from this point of view, we at once see the value of the study of provincialisms. Such local peculiarities of speech are not to be despised as mere vulgarisms; and a fondness for research of this kind is not to be laughed at as idle antiquarianism. The patois of a language is not always its deterioration: it is often "a prior state which circumstances have induced and enabled some favoured orders to desert;" it exhibits "not the scoria of the furnace, but some of the first, though perhaps grotesque shapes, of the fused ore."* Thus it will often be found to manifest old types and analogies which have disappeared in the more refined tongue of common life, and hence to aid us in our enquiries respecting the affinities of languages, besides illustrating the progress of manners and customs and the history of social life.

What is true of a provincialism, or the dialect of a district, is at least equally true of the dialect of a class. It is very curious to observe how a peculiar language is formed among any class of men who are separated from their fellows, and united among themselves by a peculiar interest or occupation. Hence the origin of *slang*, which it is perhaps difficult to define in any other way, and of *cant*, which may be briefly described as religious slang. But the point which it is of importance to us to notice on this occasion is, that these class peculiarities may contain materials drawn from very various and very ancient sources, and preserve them unaltered, when they have been elsewhere either lost or entirely transformed. I believe that the conversation of the London cabmen, or even the rude terminology of the navvies who made our railroads, may contain forms of pronunciation and expression of extreme interest to the philologist; just as I should expect remote provincialisms in Ireland or in America to contain illustrations which might be useful to the critical student of Chaucer or Shakspeare.

Of all classes, there is none whose language is so well worth considering in this point of view as that of our seafaring countrymen. In the first place it is a very ancient language. An English sailor's phraseology is not of yesterday; but it is connected with the greatest passages of our history from Raleigh to Nelson. In the course of its formation, also, it has drawn its

* See an Essay on the Yorkshire Dialect, in the *Nugæ Literariæ* of Rev. R. W. Hamilton, of Leeds.

materials from various parts of our coast, each characterised by its own local dialects and customs. But in appreciating the philological importance of our nautical phraseology, we must travel more remotely into antiquity, and far beyond our own coasts. How many of our technical seafaring terms came from the Mediterranean, and how many from the opening of the Baltic? How many have we in common with France, and how many with Holland? It is evident that we cannot reflect long on this subject without our thoughts being brought to the first Saxon invasions and to the Danish pirates, to Alfred and Canute and William the Conqueror, to the Crusades and the acquaintance thus effected between our own ancestors and the traders of Venice and Genoa, and to the time when our navigators in the Atlantic were brought into rivalry with those who sailed from the Spanish Peninsula. These topics, in their practical bearing on our general subject, may perhaps be alluded to in some future paper.

In further illustration of the interest and value of our nautical dialect I would mention its strongly marked and emphatic character. The language of the British tar, however he may have found it convenient to borrow from all nations of the world, is peculiarly his own; whatever it expresses, it expresses decidedly; its features are clear and positive, and can be easily examined and scrutinized. Another reason why it is worthy of our examination is that it is widely spread, and ever spreading more widely with every new effort of British enterprise; so that it is tending to become the universal language of the seas. And, lastly, this wide extension is attended with hardly any liability to change. With the exception of such slight alterations as may be expected to result from modifications in the practice of shipbuilding and navigation, so long as wind and water, timber and canvas, remain the same, the language of the English sailor will remain the same for centuries to come, in all the creeks of the Asiatic seas, and among all the islands of the Pacific.

Yet, with all these interests associating themselves with that seafaring life of which we are nationally proud, I cannot find that any one has subjected our maritime patois to a careful philological examination. No one, so far as I know, has made it the occasion of a separate work. Among our grammarians we have a full recognition of the importance of dialectical forms; we have books published on the dialects of nearly every county; but the dialect of the sea has escaped the attention which was due to it. In Mr. Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, which brings

together scattered contributions from every district, I find nothing in the introduction except the following remark, which appears to be made in a MS. communication :—"The language of our seamen in general is well worth a close investigation, as it certainly contains not a few archaisms ; but the subject requires time and patience, for in the mouths of those who call the Bellerophon and the Ville de Milan the *Billy Ruffian* and *Wheel-em-along* there is nothing

" But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something new and strange."

To which Mr. Halliwell replies with justice, that the remark " must be received with some limitation, and perhaps applies almost entirely to difficult modern terms not easily intelligible to the uneducated. Many of the principal English nautical terms have remained unchanged for centuries."* Yet, in the body of the dictionary, very little light is thrown upon our subject ; the number of nautical terms quoted is small, and there is no attempt to elucidate them on any general principles. We cannot expect to find philological inquiries in any of the dictionaries which are intended to explain the usage of nautical terms ; though in Falconer's well-known work † many judicious remarks in this direction are made incidentally. As regards the general dictionaries of the English language, we are equally at fault ; nor can we be surprised. We know that Johnson was weak in etymology ; and we should hardly expect that the hero of St. John's-gate and the Mitre Tavern, who is said to have studied not the *genus* homo, but the *species* Londoner, would have extended any peculiar sympathy to the *species* sailor. As regards Richardson's dictionary, which is of the highest etymological merit, it will be generally allowed to be very defective in what relates to technical terms of all kinds. And similar remarks might be extended, I believe, to all our published vocabularies.

We seem, then, to be treading on new and unbroken ground when we proceed to inquire into the history of nautical terms. To do this at all thoroughly would require a remarkable union of great qualifications. It would demand, in the first place, a thorough knowledge of the terms themselves, and the mode of using them, which cannot possibly be obtained except in the experience of a seafaring life. With this ought to be united a full acquaintance with the dialectic peculiarities on the different parts of

* Halliwell, pp. xv, xvi.

† Universal Dictionary of the Marine, to which is added, a Translation of the French Sea-terms, &c., 1766.

our coasts. But far more than this would be required. The subject could not be thoroughly mastered by any one without an adequate knowledge of various European languages, both in their earlier and later forms, and especially with Anglo-Saxon, whence the parentage of many naval expressions must be sought. Nor, lastly, could he proceed with safe steps in his inquiry, unless he were well trained in the linguistic principles which have been established by the great philological writers of Germany and other countries.

Now, I am very conscious that I possess not merely not all these qualifications, but not even one of them. Though I have been much on the water, I am always too sea-sick to hold a tiller or handle a rope; and though I am fond of the study of language, I have been almost forced to be content with looking on the outside of the great works of Grimm and Bopp. Yet it may be possible to indicate a line of inquiry which is interesting, or at least, amusing, and which may be afterwards followed up more systematically by others. In a town like this it may be expected that some may take more than usual interest in the subject, and may perceive some prospect of connecting useful results with the study of this branch of nautical antiquities. Burke observes, in his *Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*, that "the English language is peculiarly framed for purposes of business." And if it is true, as the compiler of one of the comparative marine dictionaries which I have used says, in his preface—"that many an English ship is in the most imminent danger of being lost, from the commander or master not understanding the foreign pilot who is to conduct her into port; and that our navy officers and shipmasters are frequently at a loss to express their wants in foreign ports, and to examine accounts of repairs, &c., drawn up in foreign idioms; and that our merchants, ship-owners, and underwriters are often necessitated, in regard to the true sense of the most important ship papers, implicitly to rely on the imperfect, unguided knowledge of translators;"* it seems by no means impossible that something useful might result from any study which induces us to place in juxtaposition, for the purpose of comparison, the naval terms of different countries.

Before proceeding to mark out the lines of division, by help of which I conceive the whole subject might most conveniently be examined, I will take

* H. Newman, *Marine Pocket Dictionary of the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and German Languages*. London, 1800.

a single example to illustrate the nature of the inquiry, and to show how much historical and philological interest may be connected with a nautical term. When a subject is new, a single example often clears away more obscurity than could be dissipated by a long explanation.

I take the word *binnacle*—the common name of the box or covered place which contains the compass, within sight of the steersman, and which is carefully illuminated by night. I make no apology for defining what is known to almost every one; for, in an essay on technical terms, it is always better to assume that elementary explanations may be useful to some one present. There is no one who has gone on a dark night by steam-boat from Liverpool to Glasgow who is not familiar with the appearance of the *binnacle*; but few, perhaps, have ever thought of inquiring into the derivation of the word. From its form we might be disposed to guess, at first sight, that it is a true old-fashioned English word, or, at least, that it is of northern origin. This, however, is not the case. The corresponding terms in German are *Kompass-haus* or *Nacht-haus* (night-house), which explain themselves at once; and the latter of these terms is also the customary expression in Danish, Swedish, and Dutch. But if we look to the languages of southern Europe, we find at once the derivation of our English word. For its synonym in French is *habitable*, in Spanish *bitacora*, in Portuguese *bitacola*, which are merely the two Peninsular varieties of the same word. The origin of the term is, in fact, the Latin *habitaculum*, and since the first syllable is already dropped in Spain and Portugal, I should imagine that it has come to us from thence rather than from France, where the word is used more nearly in its original form—an opinion which seems the more reasonable when we consider that the compass itself was unknown to our Anglo-Norman ancestors, but was familiarly known to those who patronised Columbus, and those who were the countrymen of Vasco de Gama. But again, this word invites us to a little further research: what was this Latin *habitaculum*, or “small house,” which became the title of that enclosed box which protects the compass from storm and darkness? I cannot help conjecturing that it was, in its original sense and in heathen times, a small chapel, or shrine, in which an image of the ship’s patron deity was placed; and that it received its new application when the compass was found more worthy to occupy the place of a dumb idol, which could rescue the mariner from no danger, and guide him in no difficulty; and I am confirmed in this conjecture by observing

that the modern Italian term for the binnacle is *chiesola*—"little church." But a difficulty might still be started in reference to our proposed derivation. It might be said that the change of *t* into *n* is an objection to the theory. No one, however, will feel any difficulty here who has ever closely watched the phenomena of a cold in the head—and here I may make the incidental remark, that in all such inquiries as that in which we are engaged, it is of the utmost importance that we should attend closely to the organs with which different consonants are pronounced, if we wish to be accurate in tracing their interchanges between one language and another. I make this remark in reference to the subject generally, for, as regards the word binnacle, we find it stated by Falconer that the old English mode of pronouncing it was *bittacle*, and so, indeed, it is spelt in Captain Marryat's novels.

This one word, then, is a very full illustration of the manifold associations, historical and philological, which may be grouped round a nautical term. It may also conveniently illustrate the method according to which I would propose to examine the subject generally. This method is, in fact, based on the comparison of our own nautical terms with those of other nations. I would take four northern languages, Dutch, German, Swedish, and Danish (or Norwegian), as means of tracing the Teutonic or Scandinavian elements of our maritime phraseology;—and four of southern Europe, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, as representing the influence of the Romance languages,—and trace the synonyms of our various seafaring terms in all of them.

The whole subject might be conveniently thrown into two divisions, *philological* and *historical*. If we were prosecuting a comprehensive and minute inquiry, some further subdivisions would be necessary, in order to avoid confusion; but at present I can only describe the general features of the subject: and in the rest of this paper, which at best is only introductory and suggestive, I will limit myself to a few philological illustrations, reserving what is properly historical for another occasion.

Under the head of what is merely *philological*, I consider nautical terms simply as words—as components of language; and the questions before us relate to the passing of words from one language to another, and the modifications, as to consonants and vowels, which they undergo in the process. We are brought here among considerations of the highest interest. Our inquiries are within the domain of "Grimm's Law," and the whole field of

comparative etymology is opened before us. But, happily, no ambitious attempt can be made in a paper like this. In what remains, I can do little more than suggest such questions as these:—by what links our nautical vocabulary is connected with those of other nations,—and how far it contains archaic forms which elsewhere are almost obliterated—how far we can distil from this salt water any pure drops of Saxon undefiled.

We should expect, in the first place, to find in the English sailor's language that facility of adaptation, combined with sturdy independence, which is characteristic of the English language generally. The Englishman borrows from every side, and yet he always remains an Englishman. So with his language; and so, not less, with his nautical dialect.

The very first word that crosses the mind supplies us with an illustration. The word "*ship*" is Teutonic. We use it in common with all the four northern languages which I have selected for comparison (*schip*, D.; *schiff*, G.; *skift*, D.; *skepp*, S.), and yet our adjectives are "*naval*" and "*nautical*," words derived from the Greek and Latin, and exhibiting our relation to the other four languages which represent the south (*navire*, F.; *nave*, I.; *navio*, S.; *nao*, P.) How completely are we seen, even at this stage of the inquiry, to stand at the meeting point of north and south, where we can appropriate what we like and yet retain our independence.

As a further illustration of this position, let us select a few parts of the gear of a ship, and examine the words by which we call them. The symmetry of a ship's arrangements may enable us to do this without confusion. Let us take three ropes which belong to the yard of a sail—*braces*, *lifts*, and *halyards*. The first word denotes the rope by which the yard is turned in a direction parallel to the horizon; the second the rope which supports the yard, and causes it to hang in proper equilibrium; the third the rope by which the yard is hoisted or lowered vertically on the mast. Now, if we compare our vocabulary with that of other nations, we find the first of these terms appearing in every one of them. It is, in fact, the Latin word *brachium*, "an arm," and no term could be more appropriate. In the case of the other two terms, the English sailor has disdained to use a word common to any other language, though for *halyards* all the four northern languages agree in using one common word, and the four southern languages agree in using another; and the same remark may be extended, with a slight modification, to the third word, *lifts*.

I had collected many examples of this kind, for the purpose of showing the curiously wilful way in which our marine vocabulary sometimes harmonises with the north, sometimes with the south, and sometimes with neither; and also for the purpose of showing how this dialect often contains links of connection with other countries which are lost in our general language. But I must hasten to show, by a few illustrations, how it contains relics of our own older tongue, which are otherwise extinct, or at least very partially retained. We ought here properly to make a division between archaic forms and archaic significations; but I am content to give my examples without any precise attention to order.

Swab, the mop made of old rope, with which decks are cleaned, is an old form of *sweep*. *Swain*, which we seldom use now, except in pastoral poetry, appears in its old meaning of a servant, in *boatswain* and *carruain*. *Tide* is the Anglo-Saxon for *time* (German, *Zeit*), and explains its own derivation from the periodicity of the daily phenomena on our coasts. The proverb, "time and tide wait for no man," must be comparatively modern in its present form, and is a curious exemplification of the composite nature of the English language, *time* and *tide* being really the Latin and Tuetonic words for the same thing, coming respectively through the Anglo-Norman and the Anglo-Saxon. *Taut* is only an older form of *tight*, and I cannot but regret that one naval writer whom I have consulted (Lieutenant For-dyce) spells it *tort*, thus entirely concealing its etymology. The *hull* is the part of the ship which is covered with the waves, unless, indeed, it is more properly synonymous with *hold*, the planking which covers and conceals the cargo. At all events, it is derived from a well-known Anglo-Saxon verb which means "to cover," and it is still in familiar use in our northern provincial dialects, in the sense of "a covering;" pea-pods, nut-shells, and potato-skins are all called "*hulls*" in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Westmorland. *Tow* and *tug* (more properly pronounced *toog*, as we do pronounce it in the north) are the same word, and I find another form of it in my native dialect of Craven, where the exertion of any laborious and fatiguing effort is expressed by the word *taw*. This dropping of the *g* is quite according to rule. Thus the *bow* of a ship appears as *boeg* in Dutch; and the pronunciation of some of our northern sailors, who speak of the *boos* of their vessel, preserves the link of connexion. *Adrift* is an old adverb, of which we have but few examples, connected with *drive*. The word *bitts*, denoting the perpendicular pieces of timber on deck, to which

the cables are fastened, is connected with *bite* (A.-S. *bitan*), and may be compared with the *bit* we place in a horse's mouth, and with the *bait* upon a fish-hook. *Roadstead*, a place of anchorage, is instanced by Horne Tooke, in the "Diversions of Purley," as one of the few instances where the old word *stead*, "a place," is retained in the language. *Tiller*, the handle by which the rudder is moved, denotes, in some of the southern dialects, the stalk of a cross-bow; and in Suffolk it is used for the handle of any instrument.

Instances of this kind might be multiplied to a very great extent; but I will limit myself to three others, which seem to deserve a more special notice.

The word *luff*, which often puzzles those who have never been at sea, and which denotes the bringing of the vessel's head towards the quarter from which the wind comes, is, in fact, the same old word as the German *Luft*, "the air." It appears copiously in the naval vocabulary of other nations; thus, the French *louvoyer* means "to beat up against the wind," and the Dutch *loeven* means "to go to the weather side." We retain the word in the term *loft*, which we apply to an upper room. The sailors' word *aloft* is familiar to us all; and I think the same root is to be traced in another expression used at sea, namely, when a ship is sailing near the wind and a fluttering motion is caused by the air in the edge or leech of the sail, which is then said to *lift*.

The next word is *shrouds*, by which is meant the aggregate of ropes which come down from the mast-head to the ship's side. We have serious and solemn associations with another use of the word *shroud*; but at first sight there appears no connection between the two. There is, however, real connection. *Scrudan*, in Anglo-Saxon means "to clothe;" and *shroud* (*scrud*) is the dress of the ship. In "Guy of Warwick" we find the following line:—

"In a kirtle of silk he 'gan him schrede."

In the case before us the difference is, that the kirtle is of hemp and not of silk.

The last word is *frap*—a term not in very common use, but not without considerable interest; for it denotes that operation of undergirding a ship which is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, xxvii, 17. In the other Euro-

pean languages the synonymous term is expressive of the operation ; * and we might well be perplexed to explain the origin of the English phrase. We find, however, good reason to believe that it is an old Saxon word, when we discover that in the Devonshire dialect *fraped* means "drawn or fixed tight." Thus it would seem that the Torquay fishermen have preserved to us this curious relic of the language of the West Saxons.

I am compelled to conclude this paper abruptly, without entering on the *historical* branch of the enquiry. But the Society will probably allow me to resume the subject, and perhaps it will be prosecuted by others.

II.—LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE MEN IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

By the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A.

[The meeting at which these papers were read was held during the day, for the convenience of country members. The members of the Literary and Philosophical Society were invited to attend ; together with those of the Polytechnic Society, the Architectural and Archæological Society, and the Chemists' Association. The visitors in attendance also included ladies. The Paper of which the following is an abstract, was a popular account of the subject, written specially for a meeting of that kind.—ED.]

The ancient and beautiful church of Sefton, in this neighbourhood, contains several monumental brasses, and among them those of Sir William Molyneux and his two wives. He was an ancestor of the present Earl of Sefton, and died in 1548, or in the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. When the brasses were in a perfect state, the arms of the knight were above his head, and those of each wife over hers ; while an elaborate achievement, containing twelve quarterings, shewed as many families of distinction whose blood and representation he had inherited.

At the bottom is an inscription, from which we learn that William Molineux, soldier (*miles* not *eques*), Lord of Sefton, was three times engaged in battle during the reign of Henry VIII. ; on each occasion he bore himself bravely, but especially at Flodden, where, with his own hand, he captured and bore away two standards from the Scots, though he was valiantly opposed.

* See these synonyms in "The Life and Epistles of St. Paul," by the Rev. W. J. Conybeare, M.A., and the Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A., vol. ii, p. 311, n. 5.

There is nothing particular in the arrangement of the dress of the ladies, but there is something deserving of marked attention in the appearance of the knight. Instead of being represented in the costume of his own time, which was the plan usually followed, he is in that of an age from two to three centuries older. On the breast is borne the *cross-moline*, the "canting coat," with which the name of "Molineux" is connected; a circumstance of itself very unusual. The head is covered with a coif of ringed mail of the time of Henry III. or Edward I.; and, apparently, the same article shews itself underneath the breastplate,—reaching to his knees.*

The question naturally occurs, how is it that he was so equipped, for there is reason to believe that the figure represents the actual armour which he wore? It is thought that this was his armour on the most eventful day of his life, the day of the battle of Flodden Field, in September, 1513. This view is corroborated by the fact that the monumental brass originally contained the representation of the two pennons which he bore away, and which are mentioned in the inscription. It is supposed, therefore, that he was hastily summoned to the mustering by Sir Edward Stanley; and that, coming from the banquet or the hunting field, he rushed to horse in the armour that came most readily to hand. There would be various suits of various periods; for it is recorded of the old courtier of the time of Queen Elizabeth, now represented by "The Fine Old English Gentleman," that

"His old hall was hung about with pikes, guns, and bows,
With old swords, and bucklers, that had borne many shrewde blows." †

Probably this very suit had seen good service, while protecting the person of some of his distinguished ancestors.

The victory of Flodden was so important, and is so intimately connected with many families in this part of the country, that it may be well to say a few words respecting it, in connexion with this subject.

King Henry VIII., who ascended the throne in 1509, was in 1513 at Tournay, in France, when his brother-in-law, King James IV. of Scotland, entered England. The Earl of Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, was entrusted by the king with the command of the army against the Scots;

* An interesting account of this brass is given by J. A. Waller, Esq., in the *Journal of the Archeological Association* for 1849, p. 262. See also, *Proceedings and Papers of the Historic Society*, vol. ii., p. 248.

† Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, vol. ii., p. 352.

but it was very unequal in numbers, and raised almost exclusively from the northern counties. The English minstrel says that the Scotch army was 100,000 strong, and that the English amounted to 23,000; but there is no probability that there was such a great disparity in numbers. Lindsay of Pittscottie says there were 50,000 on the English side, and only 20,000 on that of the Scottish King, the rest having returned home. One account states that Lancashire contributed 1,000, and another says that the two shires on the banks of the Mersey sent 10,000. The former is probably the true account. These were led on by Sir Edward Stanley, a younger son of the first Earl of Derby, the Earl himself being with the King in France. It is generally admitted that the Cheshire men were practically beaten in the fight, but that their companions assisted them; Sir Walter Scott, in his death-scene of *Marmion*, giving a fair view of the occurrences. But, at a subsequent and critical moment, the archers of Lancashire and Cheshire turned the tide of the battle, and thus secured the liberties of England, while they influenced in a most important manner the destinies of Scotland. The story has been told in numerous ballads and poems, the principal of which have been collected by Weber* and other editors. In modern times, Sir Walter Scott has associated the facts of the battle with the fortunes of an individual, and ordinary readers are familiar with the poem of *Marmion*.† But comparatively few are acquainted with the older poems, though they contain numerous passages of extreme interest.

The arming for the fight is characteristic of the times. Some made mallets of lead and bound them round with iron; some made helmets, or ground the points of their halberds; others polished their battle-axes or bills, or formed rude lances and sharpened "pike-forks." The task of turning the sword into a ploughshare was inverted, and men made head-pieces out of the irons of their ploughs.

The enumeration of Stanley's men is so interesting, locally, that it deserves to be quoted entire. The reader will observe the alliteration in each of the verses:—

Most liver lads in Lonsdale bred,
With weapons of unwieldy weight;

* "The Battle of Flodden Field; a Poem of the Sixteenth Century, with the various readings of the different copies, historical notes, a glossary, and an appendix containing ancient poems and historical matter relating to the same event. By Henry Weber, Edinburgh, 1808."

† See also notices of other accounts in "The Stanley Papers, Part I.," by Thomas Heywood, Esq., F.S.A., printed for the Chetham Society, 1803.

All such as Tatham-Fells had fed
 Went under Stanley's streamer bright.
 From Bolland bill-men bold were boun,
 With such as Botton-Banks did hide;
 From Wharemore up to Whittington,
 And all to Wenning water side.
 From Silverdale to Kent-Sandside,
 Whose soil is sown with cockle shells;
 From Cartmel eke and Conny side,
 With fellows fierce from Furney's fells.
 All Lancashire, for the most part,
 The lusty Stanley stout did lead—
 A stock of striplings, strong of heart,
 Brought up from babes with beef and bread.
 From Warton unto Warrington,
 From Wigan unto Wiresdale,
 From Wedicar to Waddington,
 From old Ribchester to Ratchdale,
 From Poulton and Preston with pikes
 They with the Stanley forth stout went;
 From Pemberton and Pilling Dikes,
 For battle bill-men bold were bent.
 With fellows fresh and fierce in fight,
 Which Horton fields turned out in scores;
 With lusty lads, liver and light,
 From Blackburn and Bolton-i'-the-Moors.
 With children chosen from Cheashire,
 In armour bold for battle drest;
 And many a gentleman and 'squire
 Were under Stanley's streamers prest.*

It appears, from an allusion, that the slogan or battle-cry of Stanley was "Stanley Stout;" every principal clan or family having such a slogan† at the period. The movement of Stanley's men consisted in their climbing up the steep side of a hill, so that they could throw themselves with great physical force, and with a tremendous discharge of arrows, upon their antagonists. In ascending the hill they were forced to creep on all fours; some leaving their boots at the bottom, and others throwing the shoes from their feet, "that toes might take the better hold."

The result of the battle is well known. The Scotch king was killed, and his subjects tried to fix blame upon some of his nobles, instead of upon their headstrong master himself. It was even said that he had escaped, and some believed for years that he did not fall in the fight; but in the "Letters Illustrative of English History," published by Sir Henry Ellis,

* Lines, 1337—1368.

† Some curious details are given in the "Slogans of the North of England," by Michael Hialabie Denham, Esq.; and respecting those on the other side of the Border in Mr. Robert Chambers' "Popular Rhymes of Scotland."

there is one from Queen Catherine to Henry VIII., mentioning that the coat, as well as the sword and dagger of James, had been brought to London. The desolation of certain parts of Scotland by this disastrous battle is also well known; the young men of Ettrick Forest, for example, were nearly all cut off. The beautiful ballad, entitled "The Flowers of the Forest," published in Sir Walter Scott's "Minstrelsy of the Border,"* alludes to this fact, each stanza concluding with the pathetic burden—

"The flowers of the forest are a' wede awae" (weeded out.)

False intelligence was, in the first instance, sent to the king in France, alleging that Lancashire and Cheshire had behaved badly, and that Stanley, their leader, had disgraced himself. Sir Ralph Egerton, and others, defended them; but the grief of the "King of Man" was excessive. Next day, however, a true message arrived from the queen, which set aside that caused by the Earl of Surrey's jealousy. In Lord Derby's distress, he bids adieu to the persons and places most dear to him, some of which are interesting. "Lancaster, that lytill towne;" "Latham, that bright bower, which nine towers beareth on high;" "Knoweslay, that lytill tower;" "Tokestaffe, that trustie park, and the fair river that renneth there beside;" and "bolde Byrkenhead, where he was borne," to which he gave the "tythe of Beeston trulye." He also takes leave of Westchester (Chester), and the Watergate, West Harden, Hope and Hope's Dale, and Mouldes Dale. While in this mood, a young man, called James Garsye, yeoman of the guard, ran to him for protection. At the hour of supper the soldiers had taunted him with the supposed cowardice of Lancashire and Cheshire, and he "sticked two and wounded three." He was tried by the king on the spot, and pardoned; but a proclamation was made at the same time, that whoever rebuked Lancashire or Cheshire should have his judgment on the next tree. The minstrel, who probably wrote in the reign of Mary or Elizabeth, concludes thus:—

"Nowe, God, that was in Beathleam born,
And for vs dyed vpon a tree,
Save our nowble prynces that weareth the crowne,
And have mercy on the Earle's sowle of Derby. +

A few words in conclusion. Three centuries and a half have passed, and a monarch, who unites the blood both of the Scottish and English royal lines, rules on both sides of the Border. The sword has become a plough-

* Vol. iii., p. 129. + Printed by Weber from the Harl. MSS., 208 and 307.

share ; and the descendants of Scottish knights, who found a grave with their people at Flodden, are proud and happy to sympathise with the men of the palatine counties, and are as jealous for the honour of the district as the children of the soil. But though the people of our own island are one in heart and interest at present, it is well to revert to the troublous times of the past. Whatever we may say of the aggressors, let us honour the memory of the stout-hearted patriots ; and while we record their gallant deeds, let us learn to imitate them in similar circumstances. There was lately a little cloud like a man's hand, rising in the south beyond the channel, which may even yet be the forerunner of a storm ; but if so, and if the battle of Hastings must be fought again, the story of it shall be told like that of Flodden or of Bannockburn.

In the centuries that have passed, our island empire has been consolidated at home and extended abroad, yet the two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire have increased instead of diminished in relative importance. Lancashire alone outnumbers Middlesex in population ; and the two together, will probably in after years, equal the whole of Scotland. Nor is their importance limited to mere numbers ; that is one of the smallest elements in the calculation. Two prominent parties in the State are both identified with this one shire ; and, to use the language of the law, the cross case recently tried before the Supreme Court was, *Manchester versus Knowsley*, *Knowsley versus Manchester*.

Our own neighbourhood, too, modern as it is, has links of interest that connect us with the past ; for the Hall of Speke contains the trophy of Norres, and the Church at Sefton proclaims the prowess of Molyneux. It is interesting, too, to trace a stream of noble blood, pure and distinct, amid centuries of change ;—to follow it like a thread of gold or silver, amid the complicated tissue of a more homely fabric. Thus, the representative of Molyneux is at this hour the military head, the Lord Lieutenant of this great county ; while the representative of Stanley, still keeping his position in the race of honourable ambition, has stood foremost in the councils of his Sovereign.

Nor is the soil of the district exhausted yet. It produces fruits which are rare and valuable in themselves, and still more rare in their combination ; commerce and manufacture, agriculture and mining. And, though last not least, it possesses another union of rare and valuable qualities ; for while history has been delighted to honour the valour of its sons, tradition

and poetry have been at least equally zealous in proclaiming the witchery of its daughters. But in whatever degree persons of different parties, tastes, or habits, may differ respecting the importance of these, on one subject we will be agreed,—that the unknown minstrels who have handed down to us such a glowing and minute account of these events, deserved a much more enduring record than either history or tradition has preserved with the public in general.

*See book
9-8-78*

III.—DRAMATIC PLACES OF AMUSEMENT IN LIVERPOOL A CENTURY AGO.

By James Stonehouse.

The earliest notice we have of public amusements in Liverpool in the shape of the drama, we find occurring about the year 1571, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, when Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, and other great dramatists produced their time-enduring works ; but, whether any of their plays were represented in so remote a place as Liverpool, and at that period so insignificant a town, we have no accurate data to refer to, by which we can arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

That dramatic representations, as well as performances in the shape of mysteries, were common long before this period, there is, of course, no doubt ; that they were brought forward occasionally in the town is clear by the manifesto issued by the authorities at this date (1571):—"That no jugglers, strollers, visions voyde and vayne, shall exhibit without an order or permission from the maior." This order shows that the graceless varlets whom the Roman poet calls "The tribe of minstrels, strollers, quacks, and mummers" had been in the habit of frequenting the town, and perhaps not conducting themselves in so seemly and becoming a way as they ought to have done.

Doubtless the great families of Molineux and Stanley, at their houses, the Tower in Water Street, and the Castle, gave occasionally those pageants, in which the people of the time so much delighted, not only from the pleasure they produced of themselves, but because they could be enjoyed at the expense of other persons.

In an old chronicle there is some allusion made to the Stanleys having players at the Castle, on which occasion the principal gentry of the town were invited to witness the performances.

The first theatre, however, or building devoted exclusively to dramatic performances, of which there is any positive mention made, was erected about 1641 (*temp.* Charles I), on the ground now occupied by a portion of the Coalbrookdale Company's premises, at the back. It stood, therefore, between the present James Street and Redcross Street, or Tarleton's New Street, as it was formerly called. This building, of which, however, we have but very imperfect notice, was constructed of frail materials, and was only used occasionally by strolling companies, who came to Liverpool from the north in their route to Chester and other places. The interior of this theatre would present to view the same aspect as do the old prints of the Globe at Bankside, where we find the most distinguished of the audience seated in a sort of boxes at the sides, or on chairs on the stage, while the pit is unboarded, and the audience there, are standing on the bare ground. Shakspeare alludes to the people in the pit in his advice to the players in *Hamlet*, where he speaks of a roaring actor "splitting the very ears of the groundlings," that is, the people standing on the ground or unboarded floor of the theatre. When this theatre was taken down, a company of strolling players opened a barn in Moor Street for dramatic representations. This barn adjoined a place used as a cockpit, a favourite place of resort at that time as well as in later days. After being here some time they removed to a house in the Old Ropery.* Here the drama was represented until a regular theatre was built and opened in 1759, in Drury Lane, a street which then ran into the Old Ropery. Drury Lane was called, previous to the erection of the theatre, Entwistle Street, being named after an old and highly respectable as well as influential family of Liverpool, of which two members held the high office of recorder for many years. Mr. J. Entwistle was appointed recorder in 1660, and held the office until he resigned from age and infirmity in 1709, when he was succeeded by his son, Mr. Bertie Entwistle, who continued in it till his death, in or about 1723. Another

* On the formation of Brunswick Street, projected about 1786, this thoroughfare was carried down, what was called "Smock Alley," through the houses on the west side of Chorley Street, thence through Drury Lane, sweeping away a portion of the north end of the theatre, thence through Old Custom House Yard,—on the site of which stand the Goree Piazas—to the formerly called "New," but now George's Dock.

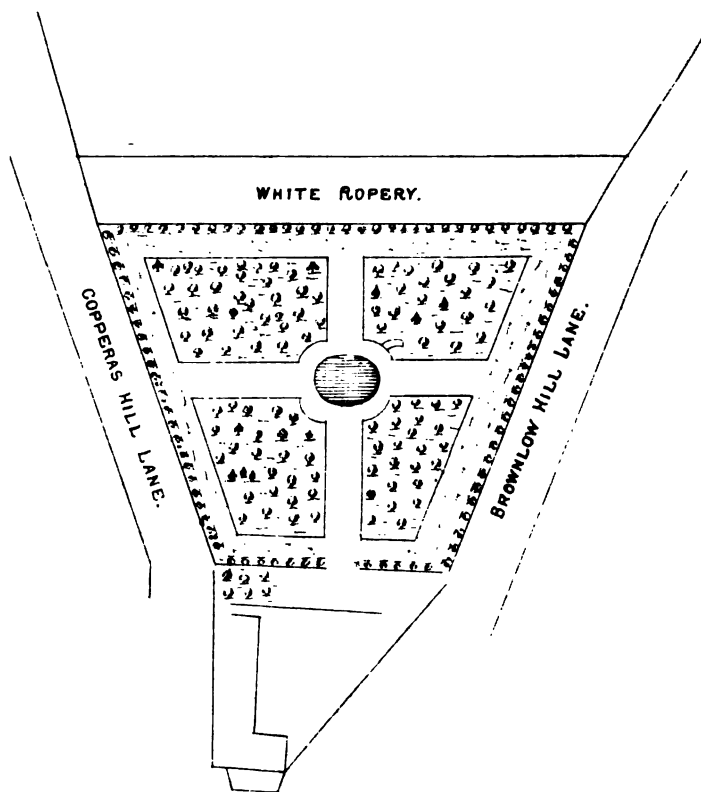
of Mr. Entwistle's sons was, in 1791, churchwarden of Liverpool, an office at that time of some dignity. It is to be regretted that the name of the street was changed, as it seems a good thing to perpetuate the memory of old inhabitants and worthy people of a town, as well as tried and long trusted public servants. On the completion of the theatre, the name of Entwistle was "expunged from the calendar," and the present name of the street was given, in imitation of the whereabouts of the great temple of Thalia and Melpomene in the metropolis. This theatre stood on the site of the present Corn Exchange, Brunswick Street, opposite the upper corner of Drury Lane. It is described as being a handsome structure, 20 yards in front and 16 deep. The interior was elegantly decorated, and the scenes are said to have been extremely well painted by London artists. There was a pit, boxes, and gallery, and by the prices, 3s., 2s., and 1s., it appears that the admission was similar to that charged at the theatres at present. The house held, when full, £80, so that we may conclude that it was about the size of the late Liver Theatre, in Church Street, which held about £80 at precisely the same charges of admission. The house was only open three times a week. Behind the boxes there was a refreshment room, in which a young woman presided, who supplied the audience with tea and coffee, wine, and other refreshments. The manager was the facetious Ned Shuter, of whom many odd anecdotes are told. The bill * before us is dated July 13, 1767, being five years after the opening of the theatre. The company seems to have been a good one, as we find several names of metropolitan celebrity appearing in the cast of the Tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*. Mr. Bensley and Mr. King were London favourites, while Mrs. Mattocks and Mrs. Parsons were equally prominent members of the London boards. Mrs. Mattocks was an excellent and charming actress, and was highly spoken of by the critics of her time.

The next bill to which attention is drawn is one announcing a musical performance or concert at the theatre in Drury Lane, for the benefit of a Miss Brent. It is dated 20th September, 1762. It will be seen that it is divided, as our modern concerts are, into two parts. Miss Brent had evidently some pretensions to be a vocalist, by the quality of the music she selected; and it will be noticed that amongst the performers appears a Mr. Arne, jun., a relative, doubtless, of the celebrated Dr. Arne, whose compositions

* See objects exhibited.

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RANELAGH GARDENS

Now occupied by the Adelphi Hotel.

are predominant in the vocal portion of the concert. This theatre or "play house" as it was termed, was taken down about the close of the last century. It had previous to its removal been used as a carrier's warehouse, and for similar purposes.

The next bill is an advertisement of a concert to take place at the Ranelagh Gardens, for the benefit of Mrs. Ellis. It is dated August 27, but the year is not given. We may, however, infer that it was issued about the same period as Miss Brent's bill, as we find that the paper, type, and imprint, being that of a man named Sadler, are similar in each case. The Ranelagh Gardens were a very favourite resort of the people of the last century. The tavern, which was formerly called the "White House," stood upon a portion of the ground where the Adelphi Hotel now stands. The premises had a frontage of about 60 feet. In the interior there was ample accommodation for the public, and the house was well furnished with every requisite to conduce to the comfort of the guests. In it there was a spacious concert-room, in which, doubtless, the concert, advertised by Mrs. Ellis, was given. When the gardens about the house were converted into a place of amusement, the name of the "White House" was changed to Ranelagh or Ranelagh Gardens, in imitation of the celebrated place of public resort at Chelsea, in Middlesex, then so much in fashion. The proprietor was a man named Gibson, whose brother kept the "Folly," in Islington, which stood on the site of Christ Church. The gardens were laid out very tastefully, with an abundance of flowers and shrubs. In different parts were alcoves, or arbours, for the reception of company, in which refreshments were supplied.

In the centre of the gardens there was a large fish-pond, in which were great numbers of carp, tench, and other fish. The gardens were a favourite resort of ladies in the afternoon, when the fish were fed by the fair visitors, much amusement being created by the struggles of the finny tribe to secure whatever was thrown to them. Near the fish-pond was an orchestra, where in a band of music played constantly during the evenings. At the close of the evening a display of fire-works occasionally took place. The bill before us gives a list of the pieces to be fired.

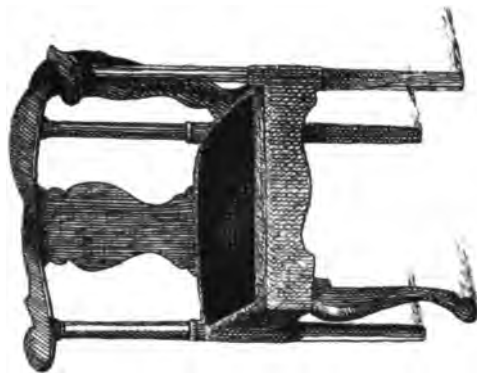
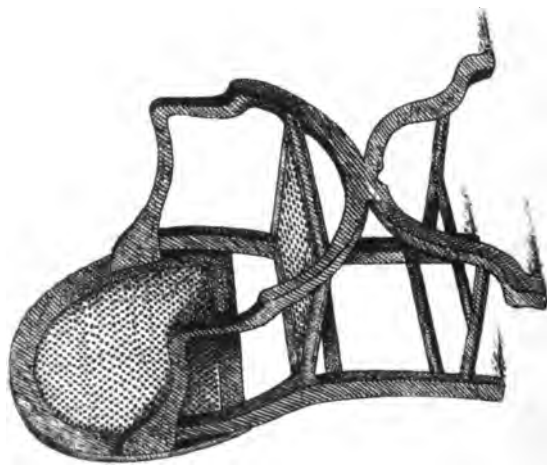
When these gardens were in existence the neighbourhood was scarcely built upon. Where Warren Street and the streets adjacent now are, was at that period all open country. Lime Street was then called Lime Kiln

Lane, from the lime works then in operation in it. Ranelagh Street takes its name from the Gardens. It was called formerly the Road to Wavertree. The last concert that took place at Ranelagh was about 1796. Some years previous to this, a portion of the upper part of the gardens had been taken off and converted into a ropery, called "the White Ropery."

The fourth and last bill bears date January 22, 1768, and advertises a performance at the Golden Lyon, in Dale Street, one of the four inns then only established in the town. The entertainment is to be given in the Buck's Room, and the admission is 1s. 6d. This "Lecture on Heads" was very popular at that period, and had attracted crowds of persons in London when first produced. It is surprising that some of those whose talents enable them to entertain an audience single-handed have not resuscitated this clever lecture. We must, however, rejoice that lectures now are given on subjects of more importance, which, while they occupy the public mind, tend to amuse and at the same time instruct; and in conveying information they also awaken a spirit of enquiry into the subjects which are brought under notice.

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THE CHAIRS OF D^r AIKIN AND D^r ENFIELD,
In the possession of D^r KENNEDY, Warrington.

EIGHTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 2nd June, 1853.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from the Lord Bishop of Chester ; after which he was balloted for, in accordance with a by-law, and unanimously elected.

The following gentlemen were duly elected.

William Collingwood, 55, Chatham Street, Liverpool.

James T. Foard, 24, Huskisson Street, Liverpool.

William Sharp, Westlands, Wimbledon, London.

George Whitley, Bromborough.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table :—

1. From the *Society*.

No. 3 of the 8vo. publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, entitled "Ancient Cambridgeshire, by C. C. Babington, M.A., F.R.S."

2. From the *Author*.

Excursionists' Guide to the Mersey, by Hugh Gawthrop, Esq., Birkenhead.

3. From *other* Donors.

Abraham Crabtree, Esq.,
through
Samuel Gath, Esq.

Three lithographs of the mural paintings in Gawsworth Church, viz., St. George and the Dragon, St. Christopher carrying the infant Saviour across a river, and The Doom or General Judgment.

Rev. P. S. Dale.

A volume of 8vo. tracts on the Slave Trade : most of them published in Liverpool, and by Liverpool authors.

Dr. Kendrick, Warrington. Lithographic print of the Chairs of Dr. Aikin and Dr. Enfield, in his possession.
See illustration.

James Stonehouse.

A Liverpool tract on the Slave Trade, 1788.
Squib Book of the Election of 1761, with list of the Burgesses from 1760.
A tract by P. D. Parquot, entitled "Plenty following Scarcity." Liverpool, 1803.

The Secretary drew the attention of the Meeting to the fact that a Donation from Mr. Mortimer had been announced erroneously at p. 120, of vol. iv. It was not the "Evening Mail" of 1790, but "Adams' Chester Courant" for 1748, '49, '50. It is interesting, as containing Liverpool advertisements and news of the period.

The following articles were EXHIBITED :—

By T. Langton Birley, Esq. An elegant gold coin of the Emperor Vespasian, found near Kirkham.

By R. J. Buckley, Esq. Mexican antiquities procured from primeval Pyramids on the table-land of Mexico. They consisted of eight grotesque terra cotta heads, of the sort that never have bodies attached; two obsidian javelin heads; an arrow head of dark flint; a sacrificial knife of the same material, curiously carved; three flat beads of stone, curiously pierced; one rounded bead, unpierced; one irregularly shaped, and partly pierced.

By D. H. Lambert, Esq. A vol. 16mo. "A Pithie Exhortation to her Majestie for establishing her Successor to the Crowne, &c., by Peter Wentworth, Esq. Imprinted 1598."

By C. B. Robinson, Esq. The following Brass Rubbings :—

1. One of the Lytton Bulwer family, from Tideswell Church, had on the scroll of the male and female respectively, "Mater Dei miserere mei," and "Mater Dei memento mei."
2. From Whitnash, containing three figures.
3. From Chesterfield, of the Foljambe family; a knight in armour and his wife, with their family quarterings.
4. From Tideswell. The Trinity is represented in an oval, viz: the Father holding on his arms a crucifix on which the Son is represented, and the Spirit, like a dove, hovering on his shoulder. The surrounding inscription is, "Ego sum alpha et omega, primus et novissimus."

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5. One of Robert Pursglove, a distinguished ecclesiastic, and a native of Tideswell, from Tideswell Church.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. A curious ancient representation of the General Judgment, in Limoges enamel, being part of the collection in his Egyptian Museum.

Also a similar illustration of the Judgment Scene, in the last number of the Journal of the British Archæological Association.

An original letter from Oliver Cromwell, written at Warrington 20th August, 1648. *See illustration.*

By Dr. Hume.

A Vulgate Bible, 1519. The woodcuts show two or more successive acts of the persons represented.

A letter was read from Professor Phillips, Assistant-General Secretary of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, announcing the reception, by the General Council in London, of the Memorial from Liverpool, praying the Association to hold its meeting for 1854 in this town.

Mr. Mayer drew attention to the discovery of a Roman Sarcophagus at the Minorities, London, fastened by iron clasps, and containing the body of a female. He also mentioned that he had visited the Castle of Pevensey, where antiquarian researches were going forward under the superintendence of C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A.

PAPERS.

I.—THE MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE TWO COUNTIES, AND THE MODE OF USING THEM.

By John Robson, Esq.

The object of the present communication is to review the historic materials which we possess, and the uses which have been, or may be, made of them—in compiling the history of the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire.

These materials consist partly of written records, partly of remains—the handiwork of the inhabitants, and lastly of the languages used by them. But at present we can only offer a very slight sketch of the bearings of these materials upon the geography, ethnology, and history of the district, from the commencement of our era, till the (so-called) departure of the Romans from the island.

All our knowledge of the geography of this neighbourhood for the first four centuries, is derived from two sources—the geographical tables of Ptolemy and the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus.

The work of Ptolemy is said to have been compiled about 180, and comprises merely lists of names, with the latitude and longitude of each as calculated by the Alexandrian astronomer. We first have the following names on the west coast, proceeding from north to south:—*Ituna Estuary, Moricambe Estuary, Haven of the Setantii, Belisama Estuary, Seteia Estuary, Outlets of the River Toisobis, Promontory of the Cangani*. I need hardly say that notwithstanding all that has been written upon these names, not one has been positively identified, and the last only, is by some collateral evidence, probably conjectured to have been Ormeshead. Ptolemy afterwards describes the Brigantes as inhabiting the whole breadth of the island, and from the towns named, it is certain that their territory included Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, Yorkshire, and either the whole, or part of Lancashire. Between the Brigantes and the Ordovices were the Cornabii, and as Deuna, one of their towns, is named as the head quarters of the twentieth legion, it is identified with Chester. The boundary, however, between them and the Brigantes is not known, and has been fixed by some on the Mersey, by others on the Ribble. One of the towns of the Brigantes, Rhigodunum, was formerly placed at Warrington, most likely from a supposed resemblance of the name, but Horsley fixed it at Ribchester; and though there is no corroborative evidence, the relative position points that out as the probable site.

The other work referred to, the *ITINERARIUM* of Antoninus, is also a list of names, exhibiting certain routes from Rome to the extremities of the empire. The object of these *Itinera* has been disputed. Most writers have supposed that they were the routes of the Roman Legions on march; but there are many objections to this hypothesis. The *Itinera* in Britain are only sixteen, and several of them in duplicate. There is no *Iter* across the north part of the island, where we know the troops were generally in active service, and the course of the routes themselves—such for instance as the second *Iter* which goes from Carlisle to York, from York to Chester, and from Chester by a roundabout way to London—shews the advance or retreat of soldiers could not have been the primary object of the *Iter*. I would, therefore, suggest that the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus is nothing more or less than the book of the

Imperial Posts—a curious subject, and well worth more attention than we can now bestow upon it. Suetonius tells us * that the Emperor Augustus first placed young men at short intervals on the military roads, and afterwards carriages, that he might have the more speedy intelligence of what was doing in every province. It would seem that these couriers were at first merely bearers of despatches which were transferred from one to another on the route, but were afterwards themselves conveyed in carriages so as to give the Emperor an opportunity of examining them personally, if he wished to do so.

From time to time modifications might be made in the routes, and as new editions were published, new routes introduced and later names assigned to old stations; but these changes scarcely authorise us to assign the reign of Theodosius as the date of the Itinerary (the middle of the fifth century), because a town appears under a name which was then first introduced. Continual allusions are made to these Posts in the classic authors, especially in such works as the epistles of Pliny and Symmachus. But we have in the Theodosian code, which dates about 430, most minute directions and instructions issued by various Emperors, with reference to the service of the *Cursus Publicus*—which I venture to translate—"The Imperial Post."

About a century later we have the following remarkable account from the *Anecdota of Procopius*:—"The Roman Emperors of former times devised a plan by which whatever was doing amongst their enemies, any sedition in states, anything connected with the governors, or whatever else might happen, should be told them and come to their knowledge as soon as possible. The conveyance of the annual tribute was also safely and rapidly managed by the same means, which was a *public course*. They appointed stations—eight—never less than five—as a day's journey for a well girt man. In each station or stable were 40 horses, and stable men in proportion, and thus the couriers, having a constant change of trained horses, at times go ten days' journey in a single day."† He proceeds to speak of the profit which the neighbourhood made out of these establishments.

The great object of these posts was to convey regular and sure intelligence to the seat of government, and officers called *Agentes in rebus*, and *Curiosi*, who seem to have combined the functions of high police, post-

* *Aug.*, Cap. 48.

† *Anecd.*, p. 131.

masters and imperial messengers, had the superintendence of them. They included horses, mules, asses and oxen ; with the farriers, smiths and hostlers, requisite for such an establishment ; carriages of various sorts, both light and heavy, the weight allowed for each being fixed by Imperial Rescript. Certain officers (in the fourth century), the Prætorian Prefect, and the Master of the Palace, were, besides the Emperor, the only persons who could grant warrants for the use of the Imperial Posts, and then merely to the highest officers. Any attempt to abuse this privilege was severely punished. These stations or stages were fixed only upon certain roads, very few indeed compared with the number of military ways we have in the kingdom, and seeming to bear the same relation to them, as the later mail coach routes to the highways.*

A short analysis of the routes in this country will shew the real nature of these stations very clearly.

The first Iter is from the Limes or Wall to Prætorium. It commences on the east side of the island, and goes on to York—the route to Prætorium is continued to the eastern coast of Yorkshire. It is very probable that this should be two routes, York being the inland terminus of both.

The second begins north of Carlisle, on the western side of the island—passes to York, from York goes to Chester, and then by London to Richborough.

The third is from London to Dover.

The fourth along the same line to the Port of Lymne.

The fifth is from London by Lincoln and York to Carlisle.

The sixth from London to Lincoln by Leicester.

The seventh from the south coast—by Southampton to London.

The eighth from York to London—combining the 5th and 6th Iters.

The ninth from London to the east coast of Norfolk.

The tenth was on the west side of the island, probably from some place on the coast of Cumberland to Middlewich.

The eleventh from Caernarvon to Chester.

The twelfth from some place on the Severn to Wroxeter.

The thirteenth from Usk to Calleva, supposed to be Silchester.

The fourteenth—another route between the same places ; and the fifteenth—from this Calleva to Exeter.

* Cod. Theod. Tom 2 Art. Cursus Publicus.

The Itinera intersecting Lancashire and Cheshire, are the 2nd and 10th. The 2nd contains the route from York to Chester, by *Mamucium* and *Condate*; the 10th appears to have run through the county, *Bremetonax* representing Lancaster, *Coccium*, a point about two miles north of Preston, *Mancunium*, Standish, *Condate*, Stockton Heath, and *Mediolanum*, Middlewich. These places, south of Lancaster, were mere post stations—villages of more or less importance, and exhibiting, not remains of military works, which would in fact have been uncalled for, but Roman pottery, coins, foundations of buildings,—perhaps at Stockton Heath used as a manufactory of earthenware—and having every appearance of peace and prosperity.

The remains of this early period, still in existence, are of far more importance than the Tables or the Itinerary. Chester, Manchester, Ribchester, and Lancaster, were evidently walled towns; and Melandra Castle, on the Etherow at the extreme point of Derbyshire, has been also in the line of Roman fortresses erected to secure their conquests. Overborough, in the north of Lancashire, was another of these garrison towns—all of them well fortified, and either in important passes or on large rivers. The only one retaining a trace of its Roman name is Manchester, which, up to the end of the fifteenth century, is written Mamchester. Of the others, one is simply Chester, another, Borough—both Saxon words for fortress—while Ribchester and Lancaster were the Chesters on the Ribble and the Lune.

But besides these important places, the whole breadth of the counties is strewn with the remains of Roman occupation. There are many *Streets* in Cheshire, which, most likely, date from this period: and we may not be far wrong in supposing that the same or equivalent cities, towns, and manors, as well as roads, were in existence in the third and fourth centuries, as we find in the maps constructed before the great changes of the last century. Mr. Kemble is of opinion that a greater breadth of land was under tillage in the heptarchy than in the seventeenth century, and that the population of the fourth century was equal to that of the age of Queen Anne.

The great storehouses of Roman remains are the sites of their towns; and here we may remark, that these places seem to have been deserted when the native population resumed its independence. Properly speaking, there were no towns in existence before the arrival of the Romans:

they did not form a part of Teutonic institutions; and when, after many years, the people begun again to congregate in masses, the ruins of the Roman settlements were either left to themselves, or served as quarries for building materials. Overborough and Melandra Castle were utterly deserted; Lancaster and Manchester no longer occupied the Roman sites; and Chester appears to have been repeopled only in the eighth or ninth century. The fact that the ditches, which, no doubt, originally surrounded the walled towns are not traceable, goes to prove that during the Roman dominion they had already ceased to be kept up as defensible fortresses; and is curious and important.

It is very desirable that accurate descriptions and drawings of all relics should be made on the spot; and where practicable, models or casts should be taken and deposited in the local museums. Every year adds to the discovery, and, unfortunately, to the destruction of these memorials, and yet we find an unaccountable apathy in many quarters respecting them. All specimens of Roman masonry should have particular attention. The sort of stone, the shape, size and tooling of each, the courses and joints, the nature of the mortar, all become objects of interest and importance; and, though it is seldom done, as making the matter dry, should always be described technically. Wherever a find of coins occurs, it is of great importance to know the earliest and latest of the series, and the proportion which the money of one emperor bears to that of another.

Pottery, again, can only be found in any quantity where there has been a regular settlement, it may be considered as a proof of a long established and quiet homestead. The potters' names, or marks, are often found on the red ware called Samian, and these should always be noted. In all the pottery found at Stockton Heath (where there is reason for believing a pottery was established,) I am not aware of any having been found with a potter's mark, while at Ribchester we find it just the reverse. Arms are seldom found, and domestic utensils are of still rarer occurrence. I have seen a beautiful bronze strainer, or cullender, which was found in Chat Moss, and, no doubt, of Roman workmanship. It belonged to Mr. Blackburne, and is probably at Hale.

It is remarkable how few tombs have been discovered in the counties. Cultivation sweeps away the Roman urn and the native kistvaen, and the contents are scattered over the fields as things of little account, in a few

months to be utterly forgotten. Still, it seems highly probable that a careful examination along the sides of the roads outside the towns we have named, would lead to further discoveries; and valuable evidence as to the names of places, and state of the country, may still be looked for.

Important, also, are the remains of these ancient roads; several of which have been already described in the transactions of the Society. But before we can place implicit confidence in the age assigned to many of them, much remains to be done. Whitaker of Manchester, who exhibited great industry in tracing the roads which he asserted centred in that town, was satisfied with what would now be thought slight evidence; and we find other practical archæologists state that "the road may be traced so and so—very distinct perhaps in one place, less so in another"—but never by any chance telling us *what* it is that is traceable. Perhaps we shall not err much in supposing the roads in this country were pretty nearly in the Roman times, what they were a hundred and fifty years ago. As the population was probably about the same, and the proportions of town and country inhabitants were not much different, there would be highways, cross and occupation roads, as matters of necessity. The imperial routes would, no doubt, be carefully looked after; but, strange enough, the surveyor of the Northern Watling Street, Mr. McLaughlan, expresses a doubt whether it was ever finished in certain parts. The same doubt arises with respect to the great road through Cheshire and Lancashire. In some places there is no trace of a substructure, the gravel only shewing the course of the road, in others, again, the gravel itself is not found, and we can only be guided by the track from one portion to another. Future investigations may shew whether it has not actually been destroyed when the island resumed its independence, and certain parts of it might be considered as an encroachment upon the *mark*, or the land belonging to the inhabitants—the public roads at that period running, not through, but between these marks, shires, or parishes. In the fourth century, we learn from the Rescripts of the Emperors, that the roads, generally, were in a bad state, and that no property was exempt from the tribute for their repair. Sometimes, it would seem that a rate was laid; at others, the owners of the property through which a road passed, had to keep it in order. A road marked as Roman in the Ordnance map in Saddleworth, is on the side of a hill, about five yards wide, and paved with small flat slabs, mixed with cobble stones. What the substructure is, I do not know. Another very curious frag-

ment of an early road, is in the north of the county, on Furness or Ulverston Fell; it is in connection with one of those mysterious sites which have been described as ancient British towns. The road is formed across some marshy ground at the foot of a hill, is not more than four feet wide, formed of small stones placed edgeway up, and with a narrow border of curbstones on each side. It would be a real addition to our knowledge if we could ascertain what actual difference exists in the construction of early roads, as it is possible that a correct classification would bring out some unexpected results. The names, too, of old roads should be strictly investigated. Was Watling Street in existence prior to the Romans? Is the word *street* itself, derived from *strata*, as commonly supposed, or is it the genuine English word *strat*? Is there any evidence that the Watling Street in Delamere, was so named in the thirteenth century?

The amount of our knowledge of the topography of Roman Lancashire and Cheshire seems to be this. That there were five fortified towns already named—two of them, Chester and Ribchester, of considerable size and importance. Two lines of road belonging to the *Cursus Publicus*—with the post stations, Mamucium, Condate, and Deva, and Mediolanum Condate, Mancunium, and Bremetonax, and sure evidence of undisturbed Roman occupation over the whole of both counties. And we now have to proceed to another equally important but much more obscure subject of investigation—the ethnology of the district.

The documentary evidence is trifling in itself, and by no means improved in passing through a Latin medium. The Romans had no taste for these inquiries—even at the present day it would seem almost impossible for an Italian to give an English proper name without the most ludicrous blundering; and we cannot suppose that at a time when these proper names were first written by the Romans, the southern interpretation of the northern sounds would be very accurate, if at all intelligible to the natives. But it unfortunately happened that for hundreds of years after, these Latinised forms were necessarily adopted by all who wrote in Latin—as almost every writer did—till in later times the Latin names themselves were anglicised, and referred back to the period to which they originally belonged. Thus the island was called *Britannia*, and the inhabitants *Britanni*. Britain and Britons are of much later date, derived from these Latin forms, and not from any native source—the Welsh traditions notwithstanding.

Most of the classic authors describe the inhabitants as indigenous.

Strabo points out certain distinguishing marks between them and the Celts. Tacitus describes the Caledonians as from Germany, and the Silures or natives of South Wales as from Spain. It would be an unprofitable labor to go through the different opinions given by later writers. There is none however who identifies the Britanni with the Celts; and the common opinion that the inhabitants of this island at the commencement of our era were Celts, is derived from Welsh traditions, traditions unconfirmed by any evidence from any other quarter.

The most important material in the history of races is undoubtedly language—but this has been most strangely abused. Without dwelling upon the follies and vagaries which have been perpetrated in hypothetical schemes of tracing nations by means of fanciful etymologies,* I shall endeavour, in as few words as possible, to shew what any one may prove for himself, and easily understand.

We have in the Greek language a complete series of works extending over 2,600 years, exhibiting the various changes that have taken place, and shewing how very gradual those changes have been. Our examples of Latin, excluding the early fragments, go back 2000 years. The English language offers an unbroken series of native works for upwards 1300 years; and in all these cases, the originals have become dead languages—the Englishman requiring the same sort of instruction to master the Saxon as he would to acquire a foreign language, and yet it would be impossible for any one to say that at such a particular period, Saxon ceased and the English tongue began. We may distinguish three periods in the history of our language—the first ending in the 12th century, the second in the 15th; but one might almost imagine that these changes took place in virtue of some general law of progress—a law, the conditions of which we are yet ignorant of. If, then, we look at Western Europe, we find three distinct families of languages—the Celtic to the extreme west—the Teutonic to the north and east—and the third, which may be called Italic, to the south. Each of these families includes a number of cognate languages or dialects in relation to one another. Thus the Welsh, Cornish, and Irish, are cognate languages, derived from one common stock. The

* Thus in O'Connor's *Chronicles of Eri* we have an account of the arrival of a body of Scots at Penketh, on the Mersey, which he proves by stating that the name is Pensciot, or head of the Scots. How far this may be true I have no means of knowing, but a small river, called the Penk, runs through the township, and offers a nearer and more natural derivation of Penketh.

English, German, and Danish, had also evidently a common origin; but though our Saxon relics are older than anything belonging to the other Teutonic dialects, it would evidently be wrong to say they were derived from it. Fragments of *Moeso-Gothic* are still in existence, bearing the same relation to the German that the oldest Saxon does to English, but the *Moeso-Gothic* is as distinct from the Saxon as the modern German is from the English. So with reference to the family I have called *Italic*, and which comprises the French, Spanish, and Portuguese. These are cognate languages—not derived from the Latin—but having one common origin with it, and lastly it is quite certain that the Celt, the Teuton, and the *Italic* were all derived from one source, each containing a number of radical forms common to the others—notwithstanding the utter existing dissimilarity—and I believe these common radical forms are more numerous in the Celtic and *Italic* than in the Teutonic dialects. Wherever any tribe belonging to these families established itself we find unmistakeable traces of it in the names of towns and settlements, and any difficulties we meet with arise from the changes that have taken place in the many centuries that have passed since the names were given, and in the corruptions, whether from ignorance or any other cause, which unwritten languages are especially subject to.

If this reasoning be correct, it follows that at our earliest historic period, the arrival of Julius Cæsar, the island was peopled by the Teutonic and Celtic tribes within those boundaries which are defined by the names of places which they still retain. The gradual encroachments of the eastern upon the western tribes is shewn in the gradual advance of the language, while the high tide mark of the weaker nation is still left by the names of the towns and villages they once occupied.

If we examine the ordnance survey of Cheshire, Shropshire, and Wales, we must be struck with the names of places as belonging to two distinct nations or families. A mile on the eastern side of this limit and we find no Celtic name,—while the Teutonic names between it and Offa's Dyke are clearly introductions of a later date, marking the settlement of Englishmen within the Welsh border; and we have decisive evidence that this conquest was made before 755, when the country is represented as having been destroyed by the Mercian King Offa; but notwithstanding this destruction, and though the Welsh language has long ceased to be spoken outside of Offa's Dyke, the Welsh names of places still mark the extent of

their original possessions, and leave no doubt how far the Celtic people had settlements to the east.

Within Lancashire and Cheshire, however, I believe that there is not a single town or place with a name of undoubted Celtic origin. It is true that a few names may be found with some element that may be considered Celtic; but it must be borne in mind that the Teutonic and Celtic were both derived from a common stock, and that there will be radicals, generally monosyllables belonging to both languages. But I repeat, if such exist at all they are exceedingly rare, and that the whole list of names is of Teutonic origin.*

If the common opinion were correct, that is, that the ancient Britons were Celtic or Welsh, it would follow that after the departure of the Romans, the name of every place must have been changed and the inhabitants entirely extirpated, in the course of a very few years, and by a people infinitely less numerous than themselves. But we may assert that no nation, however completely subdued, ever suffered such a fate; and such a massacre in our country, would have left abundant traces behind. The Isle of Man, with a small surface and scanty population of Celts, was subjugated over and over again and underwent greater losses, and yet the people still retain their own language. The Cornish language only died out about a century ago; but in both these districts we have the proper names betraying their Celtic origin. In the last number of the *Quarterly Review* (March, 1853) p. 348, we are told "that the descendants of the conquerors of Ireland had so far degenerated by the beginning of the 16th century as to have adopted the Gaelic tongue, so that it was unusual to find even the nobility speaking English."

This difficulty of extirpating a language occurred to one of our earliest historians, Nennius, and he gives us a very curious solution of it. He states that Maximus, who had assumed the purple in Britain, took a large

* In reference to this subject I may refer to *Notes and Queries*, vol. 5, p. 197, for the following remarkable corroboration. :—

ANTIQUITY OF COUNTY BOUNDARIES.—In the loop of Devonshire, on the western side of the Tamar, formed by the parishes of Werrington and North Petherwyn, none of the names of places are Cornish, but end in the Saxon termination of *cot*, whilst in all other parts the Cornish names are used up to the banks of the river. Modern Cornwall is a province so well defined by the language of its place-names, that it could be marked off without difficulty if its artificial boundary lines were omitted on a map. How does the limited extent of the language consist with some accounts of the former extent of the kingdom?

Launceston.

T. R. P.

native army over to the continent, and there defeated and slew Gratian, the King of Rome, and became sole Emperor. He would not discharge the soldiers whom he had brought from Britain, nor allow them to return to their wives, children, and property; but he gave them many lands from Mount St. Bernard to a city called Cantguic. "They themselves," says Nennius, "are at Westheap, that is Crutochideint (ad cumulum occidentalum), for the Armorican Britons who are beyond sea, passing hence with the tyrant Maximus in the expedition, because they could not return, laid waste to the ground the western parts of Gaul, nor left a male alive; and having taken in marriage their wives and daughters, cut out all their tongues, lest their descendants should learn their mother tongue; whence it is we call them in our language Letewicion—that is, half dumb, because they speak indistinctly."*

I believe that no language can become extinct, till every female belonging to the nation using it is extinct. It is emphatically the mother tongue; and as long as mothers and children retain their natural relation to each other, the father's language is of little consequence. It is this fact that explains the fusion of a conquering army into a settled people, as the Normans who took possession of the north part of France, and who most likely spoke Danish, had become genuine Frenchmen when they invaded England, and spoke a language that was not even cognate with their own.

Besides these materials afforded by the language, we have also various remains not of Roman construction. These have till lately been considered as Celtic, and Celtic names have been given to them. But the researches of the northern Archæologists have shewn that stone circles, Kistvaens, and Maenhirs are found abundantly on the shores of the Baltic, and that they were the work of a Teutonic race. I may be allowed perhaps to refer to the Calder stones in your own neighbourhood, as the only relic of the sort near us, and would merely remark that the way in which they have been arranged and the care taken for their preservation shews—to say nothing of regardlessness of cost—greater sense of neatness than knowledge of archæology. The best way of dealing with such things is to protect them from injury—as to any restoration, the unanimous opinion of the members of the Archæological Institute when assembled at Stonehenge, was decidedly opposed to it. In the case of the Calder stones, there is a com-

* Monumenta Historica, p.

plete metamorphosis; but I hope some member of the Society will give us a correct account of what actually existed some forty or fifty years ago. Some of the most remarkable relics of this description in our district, are the pots and pans and the idol in Saddleworth, which ought to be carefully drawn and planned—or what would be still better, modelled. There are some remains in Furness also, of this character, near the site of the road which I have already referred to.

Historical facts connected with the two counties during the period we are investigating, are very few. We know from Tacitus,* that in the year 50, Ostorius Scapula conquered the Cangii and the Brigantes; the former tribe seem to have inhabited the north coast of Wales, and we have pigs of lead inscribed *de Ceangis* and *de Kiangis*; † which, in all probability, came from the lead mines about Llandudno, where many traces of Roman mining have been found. Caractacus was also defeated by the same general, and fled from the scene of his defeat—which was, very likely, on the Alyn—to the Queen of the Brigantes, who gave him up to the Romans, and the next year was herself at war with Aulus Didius, the successor of Ostorius. What is described as the Conquest of the Island, probably left the inhabitants most of their original freedom, but in 61, we are told that Catus Decianus, the *proprætor*, revoked the immunities granted to the chiefs by Claudius. A general insurrection followed, and Suetonius Paulinus, who had reached Anglesey, undoubtedly by Chester and the coast, was recalled to suppress the danger. The overthrow of Boadicea was the last effort of England proper against the power of Rome. The Roman governors were frequently changed, and in the year 70, Petilius Cerealis is said by Tacitus, to have struck terror into the Brigantes, to have fought many battles, sometimes not bloodless ones, and to have seized great part of the Brigantes by right of conquest. Under Petilius, Julius Agricola commanded the twentieth legion, of which so many relics remain at Chester.

Agricola became the governor of Britain in 78, when he attacked the Ordovices, and reduced the island of Anglesey, and in his third campaign (of his second we have no particulars,) he advanced as far north as the Tay. The year following he spent in securing his conquests,—in his seventh

* *Mon. Hist.*, xxxvi.

† It is curious that Ptolemy has the Promontory of the Cangani, in North Wales, while he calls *Deva*—*Devana*. Does the name *Diganwy* or *Gannoc* contain the elements of *Cangani*?

campaign (A.D. 84) he defeated Galgacus, resigned his command, and returned to Rome.

The next notice we have is a curious one, under the year 138, and during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Pausanias tells us that the emperor cut off a large portion of the land of the Brigantes in Britain, because they had made an attack upon the land of Genounia, which was subject to the Romans. (Lib. 8, c. 43.) In the Mon. Hist. the name is anglicised into Genuini. It is not mentioned elsewhere, and some archæologists have supposed that it is represented in the Welch name Gwyneth. It is, however, clear that the conquest of the Brigantes did not imply absolute bondage, and that the inhabitants must have been left pretty much to their liberty. In the second century, the north part of the island was subject to incursions of the Caledonian tribes; but the revolts in the southern provinces appear to have been among the Roman soldiers, and not of the natives—(anno 192)—and it seems that the legions in Britain always acted an important part in the bloody games that were played for the empire of the world. At the beginning of the third century, the Roman emperors, especially Severus, made great efforts to subdue the Caledonians, but without success. In the third century the island becomes more and more important in the empire, and many of the emperors, whose reigns might be numbered by days or weeks, raised their standards here, and assumed the purple.

It is not till the latter part of the fourth century that we find the Saxons named as taking part in the wars in Britain. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us (364) that they with the Picts, Scots, and Attacotti made incursions, and barbarian attacks became frequent.* Hitherto the revolts and rebellions had been amongst the Roman forces—one general after another aspiring to the purple, or, at least, to the government of the island. In 383 and 387, Maximus, who appears to have become supreme in the extreme west, is said to have led large armies from the island to the Continent. He was

* Ammianus Marcellinus has a singular account, which, though not generally referred to our own country, and therefore, omitted in the Mon. Hist., seems to me more characteristic of the Saxon than the Oriental. In speaking of a Syrian tribe, he observes, that they made attacks when least expected upon houses, villas, and towns. That it was impossible to guard against irruptions which were made in various and distant places, and on this account, he says, the Saxons also are feared more than other enemies. As a sample of the mode of proceeding, he gives the following description:—A band of wretches collect together, assuming the characters of tax-gatherer and judge—with a crier going before, they enter the city in the shades of evening, surround the stately house of some chief, as one proscribed and condemned, sack the place, murder many, and disappear before morning.

defeated and slain in 388—many of his troops refused to return to Britain, and settled in Armorica. After this, it would seem, that the actual forces in the island were few—a legion might pass over from the Continent, and return when a new pretender to the empire required its services. The troops were more employed in civil contentions, than in keeping a subdued nation in subjection; and we are told, “That the barbarians beyond the Rhine, ravaging everything at their pleasure, compelled both the inhabitants of the Britannic islands, as well as some of the Celtic nations, to revolt from the empire of the Romans, and to live independent of them, no longer obeying their laws. The people, therefore, of Britain taking up arms, and braving every danger, freed their cities from the invading barbarians. And the whole Armoric, and other provinces of Gaul, imitating the Britains, liberated themselves in like manner—expelling the Roman præfects, and setting up a civil polity according to their own inclination.

“This defection of Britain, and of the Celtic nations, took place during the time of Constantine’s usurpation, 407–411: the barbarians rising up in consequence of his neglect of the government.”*

The historian who records this was Zosimus, who lived in the first half of the fifth century, and, consequently, was contemporary with the events he relates. I need hardly call your attention to the importance of his narrative—which, though noticed by Gibbon and others, has not, as far as I am aware, received the attention which it deserves—I believe that it contains the complete key to the subsequent history of the country.

Having so far sketched the history of the country from the original historians, let us try to form some conception of the actual state of society, and from these details, and subsequent events, reconcile the various conflicting, and in the present form, irreconcilable statements.

We have already attempted to shew that the island, at this period, was peopled by a Teutonic race on the eastern side of the island, and a Celtic race on the west, and that the actual boundaries of these races may still be traced by the names of their settlements still existing.

The Christian religion was introduced into the island at an early period, and, no doubt, made the same progress here as elsewhere—for we find in the sixth century, that the Celtic population was decidedly Christian—and

when the Emperor Constantine was converted, it would follow, as a matter of course, that the whole of the Government officials, and all, in fact, belonging to the Roman party, would follow the example of the Emperor. But subsequent events as clearly shew, that the Teutonic race did not, as a body, join the new faith—no doubt there were exceptions—but the mass of the people adhered to their old superstitions; and when they declared their independence, rebuilt their temples, and again erected their idols. You will, therefore, see that at this period there were three political or politico-religious parties in the island. The Teutonic, by far the most numerous and powerful; the Celtic, safe in their mountain land; and allied with them by religious ties and hatred of the Teutons, the Roman party, who had previously, during the Roman dominion, formed the governing aristocracy of the country, with their clients and connections. And it is these who are called Britanni, in Gildas and the other Latin writers. We may now understand how the strength of this party was gone when the Roman legions left the island, and as they exclusively furnished the additional troops which followed the various usurpers of the empire to the Continent, we see how the island, as far as that party was concerned, was drained of its strength. The change which had taken place was immense. The old building was destroyed, and a new one had to be erected; and in the meantime, the people had to scramble as they could. For a time, no doubt it was

the good old law
Sufficeth them, the simple plan,—
That they shall take who have the power
And they shall keep who can.

It would soon have been found that a government was necessary; and it seems a natural consequence that the people should turn to such stocks as might claim a descent from the royal and heroic, or, rather, divine lineage (for all their kings trace their pedigree to a divine origin)—hence Hengist, with his three keels became King of Kent, and the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy were formed in a similar way. The Romano-British power seems to have resisted only in Kent, and on the west side of the kingdom, and to have suffered as much from internal dissensions as from external enemies.

That Beda's account of the conquest of the country by the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, is unintelligible and at variance with facts, is acknowledged virtually by every writer upon the subject—as each has had to supply, according to his own views, what was wanting in the ecclesiastical history.

The whole territory of these tribes, as described by Beda, is not larger than one of the smaller counties in England—and probably more barren and with a less population than any,—and it is utterly incredible that they could have subdued a large and populous and rich island, which had only just thrown off the Roman yoke, put its governors to flight, and established its own independence.

We know from Ptolemy, that two or three small islands near the Elbe were in his time peopled with what he calls Saxons; and we learn from Meginhard, who lived in the eighth century, but probably had some history which is now lost, that these Saxons had fled from Britain and the Roman conquerors, and established themselves in these very islands.* It is true that Meginhard has misapplied this statement; but still the fact remains, and affords a link which fills up the vacant space in history—the course of which would seem to have been this.

At the end of the 4th century, the Roman power in the island became disorganized and effete, and the English people assumed their independence, their original laws and religion, and like people of more modern times, their very liberty puzzled them. They consisted of freemen and nobles, and they appear to have sent to the continent for chiefs descended from their own race to contend against the Roman party, who would have the advantage of union. The members of this party are termed BRETS, a construction of Britannic, but more generally WEALLAS, a word meaning *strangers*, and applied more especially to the Romans, but which would be altogether without meaning if used by the Saxons with reference to the original inhabitants of the country.† These Weallas were gradually subdued—not exterminated—they would necessarily consist of the descendants of the Romans, and of the auxiliary cohorts who were drafted from all parts of the empire, and no doubt a number of the English race, who in the course of the Roman progress, had become closely united with them by interest, blood, or religion.

Amongst other things that have puzzled our later historians, is an officer who is named in the *Notitia Imperii*—the Count of the Saxon coast—his jurisdiction extending from Portsmouth eastwards, and along the east coast to Norfolk. It will not be necessary to repeat the various explanations

* Langebeck, *Script. Dan.* 2, p. 39. The Latin word *Saxones* comprehended tribes quite distinct from each other.

† It has all the appearance of having been a nickname, or term of contempt, as used in the *Saxon Chronicles*.

that have been given of the term. I shall merely say that it points out the possessions of the Sexna, the very territory which still bears the name in Essex, Middlesex, Sussex, and what was the original kingdom of Wessex. These Sexna (Latinized into Saxones) have been confounded with a tribe having the same Latin name on the Continent. The Englas were situated to the north of the Sexna. Beda, from a monk who followed St. Germanus, says that the Saxons were in the Hallelujah battle, A.D. 423. The contest was first for the national independence, and the government of their own chiefs. That obtained, and the Roman party having succumbed, the kings went to war with each other; and the free towns, which seem to have been gradually increasing in power during the 7th and 8th centuries,* and the country, lapsed into semi-barbarism.

During the whole period of Roman dominion in the island we have not the slightest allusion to our own counties, and the silence of history implies peace. Neither the taxes nor levies for foreign service can have been generally oppressive, and the rule of Roman government was to leave to a conquered country its own laws and religion. No doubt, instances of oppression and tyranny would occur, but they have left no trace behind; and as far as the body of the people was concerned, it seems pretty certain that they were infinitely better off during the first four centuries of our era, than for many centuries afterwards.

Amongst the desiderata in our county histories, I may mention the discovery and early state of the brine springs in Cheshire, the account of the Forest of Delamere, with its numerous castles, castle hills, and boroughs, the origin and decay of the curious remains in Furness, the relations and meaning of the word *Wych*. I believe that much light will be thrown upon all these points by a careful and systematic investigation, and all are subjects of great interest.

I have now brought to a close this long—and I fear from the imperfect way in which the subject has been treated—tedious paper. It is not likely, nor do I expect that many of the propositions will be assented to at once; but I do think that in two points you will all agree with me—1st, That our actual knowledge of the history and state of the island up to the 6th century is very small; and second, that there is an ample field for every member of the Historic Society to cultivate, and that he may contribute

* Saxon Chron. A. 918, &c.

whatever information, opportunity, study and observation, throw in his way with the certainty that no fact will be lost, but will in the end find its due place in the true history of our country.

ADDENDUM.

A curious and in some respects an important relic, came under my notice about three months since. It is a fragment of pottery, probably the handle of an amphora, of coarse Samian ware, found in Castle Field, Manchester, and after being in the possession of Barritt (the Manchester archæologist), and Capt. Hindley, is now in the valuable museum of Charles Bradbury, Esq., of the Crescent, Salford. It has a stamp on the convex surface in an ornamental border, and the words

COHRI
YRISIAVG
YOVIANVM
SPXXIIII

In the year 1796 a stone, 15 in. by 11, was found in Castle Field, with the very same inscription: it was described and figured in the Manchester Philosophical and Literary Transactions, vol. 5, p. 2, appendix p. 675, by Barritt, and an additional note was given by Dr. Holme. Mr. Bradbury has kindly presented a cast to the Historical Society.

II.—THE JUDGMENT SCENE:

FROM A REPRESENTATION IN MR MAYER'S EGYPTIAN MUSEUM.

By the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A.

Any one who is familiar with mediæval illustrations, must have noticed one important respect in which they often differ from modern ones. A modern drawing or painting represents a continuous action at some particular instant of its occurrence; and the events which preceded and followed that particular moment are suggested more or less by the arrangement, situation, colouring, &c. But in the mediæval paintings much more than this was attempted. There was an effort on the part of the artist to give to the whole a dramatic character; to represent successive incidents like the

various acts or scenes of a play; and thus the work was supposed to be not merely *pictorial*, but also *historical*. There is a painting in the Royal Institution, for example, which gives on the one surface and in the one frame, nearly all the prominent facts connected with the betrayal, judgment, and crucifixion of our Lord, the painter evidently not supposing that the proprieties were at all violated, by giving, side by side, events which occurred at very different times. Similar paintings are found from time to time, as frescoes on the walls of ancient churches: they occur as the illuminations in monkish MSS.; and they are not unfrequent among the works of the old masters.

A copy of the Vulgate bible in my possession, of the date 1519, contains a series of woodcuts arranged on this plan. Each of them represents two scenes, either contemporaneous but locally distant, or else consecutive. Thus, one represents the transgression in Eden on its left side, and the expulsion on its right; another represents Abraham and Isaac going up to the mount, and without the slightest separation, the sacrifice of Isaac; a third represents two contemporaneous scenes within doors and without, Rebecca and Jacob deceiving Isaac, and Esau hunting for venison; a fourth shows at once the placing of Joseph in his coffin, the Pharaoh who knew him not swaying his cruel sceptre, and in the distance the destruction of the male children of the Hebrews. There are others in the same volume as curious as these; and in all of the instances the different events are represented side by side, or in the same horizontal line. Sometimes, however, the various scenes were represented vertically; the first commencing at the top and the various events succeeding each other in downward progress, like the facts in the well-known chart called the "Stream of History." Whenever the events were represented as occurring at different heights, as on the several floors and roof of a castle, this mode of illustration by vertical scenes, had a certain degree of appropriateness in it.

On the 11th of December, 1851, three 8vo. etchings were presented to this Society by the Rev. W. H. Massie of Chester, illustrative of three mural paintings that had been discovered at Gawsworth, on removing the inner plaster of the Church, in the course of making some repairs. At the meeting on the 8th of January, 1852, I read a short paper explanatory of one of them, and showing that while the grand object of it was to represent the GENERAL JUDGMENT, this was effected by three vertical compartments, which represented respectively, Heaven, Earth, and Hell.

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THE LAST JUDGMENT:

FROM A LIMOGES ENAMEL, IN MR. MAYER'S EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, LIVERPOOL.

In the month of November, 1852, in the course of a visit to Mr. Mayer's Egyptian Museum, I discovered in one of the apartments not devoted to Egyptian objects, a remarkable corroboration of my remarks on the Gaws-worth painting. This was a very elegant representation of the Judgment scene, executed in Limoges enamel, apparently on a basis of copper, and measuring within the frame, 11 inches by 7½.

I. The most prominent part of the picture is the figure of the Deity at the top, which represents heaven. This occupies more than half of the vertical height of the picture, nearly two thirds. He is seated, as usual, upon a rainbow, his feet resting upon the earth; the back ground is a beautiful deep blue sky, which is studded with golden stars and bordered by clouds. The Judge is represented as the second person of the Trinity; the chest, hands and arms, and feet, which are bare, exhibit the five wounds; the rest of his person is concealed in the copious folds of a brown mantle or robe, trimmed with gold and fastened at the throat. The head is surrounded by a glory in gold, and the right hand is elevated in the attitude of blessing, while the left is inverted expressive of repulsion. At his feet appear kneeling upon clouds, a male and a female figure. The former is St. John and the latter the Virgin, who were recommended to each other's good offices, in the character of mother and son. The head of St. John is surrounded with a nimbus, and the drapery of both is very peculiar. St. John's inner vestments are yellow; and the mantle or surcoat is of dark red material, covered with floral embroidery in gold. The Virgin wears a brown tunic with gold trimmings; over this, a blue mantle speckled with cruciform flowers in gold; and a white hood covering the head and shoulders, bearing a resemblance both to the head dress of the Knights Templar, and to the hoods of modern rustic maidens.

II. The portion which represents the Earth, occupies but a small space. The blue sea flows in front, and the land lies behind. The time is, the instant of the Resurrection. Just on the sea coast, and almost in the water, a strong man is bursting his way through the earth; a little farther back, another seems resting; and in the distance is, apparently, an infant.

III. The base of the picture represents the separation of those who are judged. On the left, an angel dressed in white, with golden hair and dark green wings, is conducting three of the justified, on the clouds, in the direction of the sun; while on the right, *i.e.*, on the left of the Judge, a demon is

flogging three others forward towards the mouth of the infernal regions. This is represented like the mouth of a huge bird ready to swallow them up ; while both the demon, and his place of punishment, are represented as green.

It is only within the present week that I have seen the enlarged lithographic illustration published by the Rector of Gawsorth, the dimensions of which are, 26 inches by 11½. The general coincidence of it, in plan and execution, with that just described, are even more remarkable than I before supposed ; for the etching, from which I wrote last session, represented several points less perfectly than the lithograph does. The following facts require notice.

1. The nimbus which surrounds the head of the Saviour, who is Judge, has cruciform points ; the figures at the base of the rainbow, on his right and left respectively, are the Virgin and St. John ; and, except the head, chest, arms, and feet, the body is covered in the ample robe, fastened at the throat, as in the other picture. Some scattered marks in the etching assume more shape here, and turn out to be the embroidery on the bannerets of the two trumpets sounded by the angels. The one over the head of the Virgin contains the pillar of scourging, the cross, the ladder, and the spear. That over the head of St. John contains the five wounds merely, with gouts of blood.

2. The middle compartment of the picture, representing Earth, exhibits the Resurrection. On the Judge's right, a saint with a cross, (not St. Peter and his key,) is leading off a large number, including a pope, a king, and queen, whom he seems to be conducting into the gates of Paradise. On the other side, Satan is claiming his own ; and these seem merely in the act of rising from the earth, as if in illustration of St. Paul's remark, that "the dead in Christ shall rise first."

3. In the lowest compartment, the portion which indicates the mouth of the infernal region, is on the observer's right, as before ; but part of it has been removed by the injury of the plaster on the wall. It has evidently been like the head of a gigantic snake, of which, only the upper jaw and fangs now remain. Into this, a demon appears in the act of driving several of the condemned ; while other demons, by carrying, wheeling in a barrow, and leading, are conducting additional ones to the same place of torment. There are light, dark, and mulatto demons ; and one on the observer's left, seems

to be forcing himself from the ground, near the base of an overspreading tree.

Strangely enough, since it was announced that I would read this paper, another illustration has been put into my hands; contained in the present number of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*. The painting from which the illustration is taken, is found in St. John's Church, Winchester; and, like the others, is divided into three compartments, in this case, very formally.

(1.) The upper one represents the Judge on the throne; and near him, the pillar, the cross, the scourge, and the spear. The head is 'surrounded with a nimbus, with cruciform points, and the figure is covered by a green mantle. The Virgin is seated on his right hand; two angels exhibit the instruments of torture; two sound trumpets; and the twelve apostles "sit on twelve thrones," as if to judge the "twelve tribes of Israel."

(2.) In the middle compartment, nearly half of which is obliterated, Michael the Archangel, is engaged in weighing the spirits; and, while some, including a bishop, a king, and several monks, are found sufficient, and are led off by a Franciscan to happiness; others, of course, are found wanting. These are led off by the arch fiend, who is represented of gigantic proportions and horrible appearance; while the feet of the persons still preserved on the plaster, shew the direction in which they are following.

(3.) The lowest compartment represents, apparently, the first act, viz., the Resurrection; but, instead of exhibiting the individuals as rising from the earth, each is, apparently, flinging aside the lid of a gorgeous stone sarcophagus; kings still exhibiting their earthly crowns, bishops their mitres, and monks their peculiar tonsures.

In these three examples, coincident in subject, and executed at points considerably remote, one sees a uniformity of design and a regular principle of execution. Nor is it necessary to infer that they were executed at or near the same period, though they are all included in the general term "mediaeval." If the several dates of their execution extended over a period five times as great as it actually does, it is not probable that the subject would have been materially altered. We can here analyse the very ideas that occupied the mind of the Artist; we see the points in which there would be coincidence and variety if the subject were chosen in modern times; in short we find the same mixture of scripture and popular feeling

shown in the colours, which history, domestic and literary, would lead us to expect. There is a fashion in art, as there is in dress and manners ; it is influenced by that species of innocent and floating superstition which has been called "folk-lore ;" and the style of any particular period, or mode of illustration, was, we may fairly assume, that which was best calculated to impress at the time. Those who found their devotional feelings stirred by the performance of a rude miracle play, may well have been impressed by an illustration like one of these, addressed not to the understanding but the eye, and speaking its plain but impressive lesson from wall or window. If it occur to any one that there is too much of what is material on subjects which are only partially so, let him consider how much of the material is mixed up with the spiritual, even in our own enlightened days ; when thousands of our countrymen, who rarely think of the subject at all, entertain ruder thoughts of the solemn scene which has been pictured, than any of the artists did.

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Historic Society

OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

Proceedings and Papers;

SESSION VI.

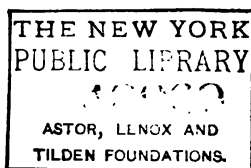
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NOTE RESPECTING THE PLATES.

The Council of the Historic Society have again to express their grateful acknowledgements to several friends, by whose donation of Illustrations, in whole or in part, they have been enabled to add considerably to the value of the volume now issued to the Members. The following is a brief acknowledgement.

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ERRATA.

Page 4, line 13, for "representatives of Liverpool from 1760," read,—1660.

„ 30, „ 23, for "BRITISH HISTORY," read,—ENGLISH, &c.

„ „ „ 27, for "those times," read,—Greece and Rome.

„ 31, „ 7, for "Brittanica," read,—Britannica.

„ „ „ 14, for "scarlely," read,—scarcely.

„ „ „ 30, for "Vetustiories," read,—Vetustiores.

„ 32, „ 14, for "of the founder of our Archæolgy," read,—for the
founder of our Archæology.

„ 74, „ 14, for April, "1793," read,—1783.

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LIST OF MEMBERS.

SESSION 1853-4.

The First List was dated 23rd November, 1848. All whose names appear or should have been in it, are, therefore, original Members. Those who have been enrolled as Mayors have their year of office attached, and the initial letter of the Borough.

The letters D. E. P. denote respectively that the gentlemen in connection with whose names they occur, have been Donors, Exhibitors, or Authors of Papers during the six Sessions of the Society's existence.

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- 3rd May, 1849. Anderson, Thomas Francis, Holly Lodge, Fairfield, and 3, Cable Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Anson, Very Rev. Frederick, D.D., Dean of Chester and Rector of Doddleston, The Deanery, Chester.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Ansdell, Richard, 7, Victoria Road, Kensington, London.
- 11th May, 1854. Aspland, Rev. R. Brook, M.A., Dukinfield, Ashton-under-Lyne.
- 14th Dec., 1848. Astley, John, 18, Salthouse Dock, Liverpool, and Rock Ferry, Cheshire.
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- 8th Nov., 1849. Atkinson, Fenton Robinson, Oak House, Pendleton, Manchester.
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- 23rd Nov., 1848. Badnall, Rev. William, M.A., Wavertree.
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- 23rd Nov., 1848. Baylee, Rev. Joseph, D.D., Principal of St. Aidan's College, Birkenhead, Claughton Road, Woodside.
- P. 6th Dec., 1849. Beamont, William, Warrington.
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 P. 8th Jan., 1852. Birley, T. Langton, Carr Hall, Kirkham.
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 15th Dec., 1853. Bossi, Arthur, 9, Rumford Place.
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 E. 13th Nov., 1851. Brackstone, R. H., Beechen Cliff House, Bath.
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 D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Bridger, Charles, F.S.A., 3, Keppell Street, Russell Square, London.
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 6th Mar., 1851. *Brooke, Richard, jun., Norton Priory, Runcorn.
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 4th April, 1850. *Carlisle, the Earl of, Naworth Hall, Northumberland, and Grosvenor Place, London.

- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Carson, Thomas, Talbot Chambers, Fenwick Street, and 3, Northumberland Terrace, Everton, Liverpool.
- 6th Dec., 1849. Carson, William, York Buildings, Sweeting Street, and Lodge Lane, Liverpool.
- 14th Dec., 1848. Carter, George Barker, Bebington, Cheshire, and 6, Lord Street, Liverpool.
- 1853-54. CHESTER, THE MAYOR OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex officio*.
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- E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Clare, John Leigh, Richmond Terrace, Breck Road, and 11, Exchange Buildings, Liverpool.
- 3rd Jan., 1850. Claypole, Henry Krebs, 41, Lord Street, and 67, Kensington, Liverpool.
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- 23rd Nov., 1848. Coulthart, John Ross, Croft House, Ashton-under-Lyne.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Crook, Thomas, 61, Shaw Street, Liverpool.
- 6th Dec., 1849. Crosfield, Henry, 4, Temple Place, and Edgemount, Edge Lane, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Crosse, Thomas Bright, Shawe Hill, Chorley.
- 2nd May, 1850. Crossley, James, F.S.A., President of the Chetham Society, Booth Street, Manchester.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Cunningham, John, F.G.S., Hon. M. Roy. Corn. G.S., 29, Seal Street, and Beech Bank, Liscard, Cheshire.
- D.M.F. 23rd Nov., 1848. CUST, MAJOR-GEN., the Hon. SIR EDWARD, K.C.H., D.C.L., F.R.S., Leasowe Castle, Cheshire, and Hill Street, London, VICE-PRESIDENT.
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- E. 8th Dec., 1851. Dale, Robert Norris, Hargreaves' Buildings, Exchange, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Danby, Rev. Francis Burton, M.A., County Asylum, Lancaster.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Darlington, Richard, Wigan.
- P. 23rd Nov., 1848. DAWES, MATTHEW, F.S.A., F.G.S., Westbrooke, Bolton.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. *DAWSON, HENRY, 20, Redcross Street, and 14, St. James's Road, Liverpool.
- 10th Feb., 1853. Dawson, Pudsey, Hornby Castle, Lancashire.
- 2nd May, 1850. Dawson, Thomas, M.R.C.S., 67, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Dearden, James, F.S.A., The Orchard, Rochdale.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Deighton, Joseph, 46, Church Street, Liverpool.
- 6th April, 1850. De Tabley, The Lord, Tabley Hall, Cheshire.
- 7th May, 1851. *Dickinson, Joseph, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., M.R.I.A., President of the Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool, 5, Nelson Street, Liverpool.

- 23rd Nov., 1848. Dignan, John, Chronicle Office, Church Street, Liverpool.
- D. 13th Nov., 1851. Donaldson, J. Binning, 12, Gloucester Place, Low Hill, Liverpool.
- 7th March, 1850. Dove, Percy M., Royal Insurance Office, 1, North John Street, Liverpool, and 49, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Duarte, Ricardo Thomaz, 2, Royal Bank Buildings, Liverpool.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Dunlevie, Charles Thomas, 52, Castle Street, Liverpool.
- D. 9th Dec., 1852. Eckersley, Thomas, Wigan.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Eden, John, 57, Church Street, and Aigburth Vale, Liverpool.
- 8th Dec., 1851. Edgar, James, 34, Canning Street, Liverpool.
- D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Egerton, Sir Philip de Malpas Grey, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., F.G.S., Oulton Park, Tarporley, and 43, Wilton Crescent, London.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. *ELLESMERE, THE EARL OF, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., Worsley Hall, Manchester, and 18, Belgrave Square, London, PRESIDENT.
- 14th April, 1853. Ellis, Arthur, Melville Place, Oxford Street, Liverpool.
- 3rd March, 1853. Ellis, William, 29, Edge Lane, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Evans, Edward, 52A, Hanover Street, Liverpool.
- 8th Nov., 1849. Evans, Thomas Bickerton, 52A, Hanover Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Ewart, Joseph Christopher, New Brighton.
- 6th May, 1852. *Ewart, William, M.P., 6, Cambridge Square, Hyde Park, London.
- 7th Feb., 1850. Eyton, Peter Ellis, Flint.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Falcon, William B., Malta, and 11, Shaw Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Feilden, John, Mollington Hall, Chester.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Finlay, William, Collegiate Institution, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Fisher, William M., Ph.D., F.R.A.S., 39, Great George Street, Liverpool.
- 6th Dec., 1849. FLEMING, THOMAS, 22, Sandon Street, and 58, Castle Street, Liverpool.
- 2nd June, 1853. Foard, James T., 24, Huskisson Street, and 34, Church Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Forshaw, Rev. Charles, M.A., Altcar, Ormskirk.
- 5th Dec., 1850. Forster, Wilson, Willow Bank, Tue Brook, West Derby, and 23, Temple Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Fox, Rev. W. Darwin, M.A., Delamere Forest Rectory.
- 15th Dec., 1853. Franks, Augustus W., M.A., F.S.A., British Museum, London.
- 6th Jan., 1853. *French, Gilbert James, Bolton-le-Moors.
- 14th Dec., 1848. Gardner, Richard Cardwell, 42, Dale Street, and Newsham House, Liverpool.
- 15th Dec., 1853. Gardner, Rev. Thomas, Stanley, Liverpool.
- 3rd May, 1849. Garnett, William James, Bleasdale Tower, Garstang.

- 23rd Nov., 1848. Gaskell, John, Exchange Court, Exchange Street East, Liverpool.
- D. 7th Feb., 1850. GATH, SAMUEL, 137, Finch Street, and Hargreaves' Buildings, Liverpool.
- D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Gawthrop, Hugh, Mersey Cottage, Mersey Street, Birkenhead.
- 7th March, 1850. Gill Robert, 1, Chapel Street, Liverpool, and Much Woolton.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Godfrey, J. J., M.R.C.S., Heathfield Street, Renshaw Street, Liverpool.
- 9th Dec., 1852. Graves, Samuel Robert, 13, Redcross Street.
- 7th Feb., 1850. Gray, John, 16, St. Clement's Terrace, Windsor, and 25, Strand Street, Liverpool.
- D.E. 14th Dec., 1848. Gray, Thomas, Royal Insurance Office, 1, North John Street, Liverpool.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Gray, William, Bolton.
- 7th Feb., 1850. Green, Robert Molyneux, 14, Rupert Lane, Everton, Liverpool.
- D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Greenall, Rev. Richard, M.A., Incumbent of Stretton, and R.D., Stretton, Warrington.
- D.E. 8th Nov., 1849. Guyton, Joseph, at Golding and Head's, Exchange Court, Exchange Street East, Liverpool.
- Mayor La. 1852-3. Hall, John, Lancaster.
- 2nd May, 1850. Hall, William, Seaforth.
- 15th Dec., 1853. Hamilton, Rev. Charles J., B.A., Hemingford Terrace, Birkenhead.
- D. 8th Dec., 1851. Hammond, William John, 50, Stafford Street, and Swift's Court, 11, Castle Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Hampton, Rev. H., M.A., Cemetery View, 18, Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Harden, J. W., New Ferry, Cheshire.
- D.E.P. 8th Nov., 1849. Harland, John, Guardian Office, Manchester.
- 9th Dec., 1852. Harrison, Henry Walter, 5, Rodney Street, and 27, Castle Street, Liverpool.
- 5th May, 1853. Harrison, William, Ballacbrink, St. John's, Isle of Man.
- 12th Jan., 1854. Harrison, William, Galligreaves House, Blackburne.
- 9th Feb., 1854. Harrowby, the Earl of, Sandon Hall, Staffordshire, and 39, Grosvenor Square, London.
- D. 10th Feb., 1853. Hartley, Jesse, Derby Road, Bootle.
- 10th Feb., 1853. *Hartley, John Bernard, Aigburth.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Hawkins, Edward, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., British Museum, London.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Hawthorne, Hans Stewart, 61, St. Anne Street, Liverpool.
- 3rd May, 1849. Hay, John, 2, Cable Street, and Parkfield Cottage, Birkenhead, Cheshire.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. HEATH, EDWARD, Orange Court, Castle Street, and St. Domingo Grove, Everton, Liverpool.
- E. 11th May, 1854. Henderson, Ebenezer, LL.D., Greenbank, St. Helens.
- 9th Dec., 1852. Henderson, Rev. John, Colne, Lancashire.
- 8th June, 1854. Herd, John, Brunswick Street, Liverpool.
- E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Herdman, William Gawin, Lansdowne Place, Everton, Liverpool.

- E. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, Sir Benjamin, Bart., Claremont, Manchester.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Heywood, James, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Acresfield, Manchester, and Reform Club, London.
 D.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, Thomas, F.S.A., Hope End, Ledbury, Herefordshire.
 E.P. 4th Jan., 1849. Hibbert, Thomas Dorning, Middle Temple, London.
 D.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Higgin, Edward, 6, Sweeting Street, and Elmleigh, Breckside Park, Liverpool.
 E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Hill, Rev. John Wilbraham, M.A., Waverton, Chester.
 8th Dec., 1851. Hinde, John Hodgson, 9, Saville Row, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Acton House, Felton, Northumberland.
 11th May, 1854. Hindley, Edward, 84, Exchange Street East.
 Mayor Li, 1852-3. Holme, Samuel, Church Street, Liverpool, and Homestead, Aigburth.
 Mayor La, 1849-50. Howitt, Thomas, M.R.C.S., Lancaster.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Horsfall, Thomas Berry, M.P., Mill Bank, West Derby.
 14th April, 1853. Houghton, Richard, Crosby.
 D.E.P. 6th Nov., 1849. Howson, Rev. John Saul, M.A., Principal, Collegiate Institution, Liverpool.
 6th April, 1854. Hughes, Thomas, 13, Paradise Row, Chester.
 D. 8th Feb., 1852. Hulton, William Adams, Hurst Grange, Preston.
 Mayor C, 1851-52. Humberston, Philip Stapleton, Chester.
 D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. HUME, REV. ABRAHAM, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., Hon. Mem. Dublin University Philosophical Society, 9, Clarence Street, Everton, HON. SECRETARY.
 9th Feb., 1854. Hunt, Alfred W., B.A., 31, Oxford Street, Liverpool.
 12th April, 1849. Hunt, Charles, 12, Huskisson Street, Liverpool.
 9th Dec., 1852. Hutchison, Robert, 61, Grove Street, Liverpool.
 D.E. 1st April, 1852. Jacob, John Greer, 56, Church Street, Liverpool.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Jacson, Charles R., Barton Lodge, Preston.
 23rd Nov., 1848. James, Rev. David, M.A., F.S.A., Ph.D., Llandovery.
 23rd Nov., 1848. *James, Paul Moon, Summer Ville, Manchester.
 D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Johnson, John H., 7, Church Street, Liverpool.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Jones, Alfred, 17, Goree Piazzas, Liverpool.
 6th April, 1850. Jones, Captain, 8, South Parade, York.
 3rd May, 1849. Jones, Morris Charles, 75, Shaw Street, Liverpool.
 6th Dec., 1849. Jones, Roger Lyon, 1, Great George's Square, Liverpool.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Kendall, Thomas, 9, Gambier Terrace, Liverpool.
 D.E.P. 3rd May, 1849. KENDRICK, JAMES, M.D., Warrington.
 6th June, 1850. Kerferd, John A., 23, Everton Village, Liverpool.
 D. 1st Feb., 1849. Kilpin, Thomas Johnson, 1, Arrad Street, Hope Street, Liverpool.
 15th Dec., 1853. Lace, William Henry, 1, Union Court, Castle Street, and Beaconsfield, Woolton.
 D.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Lamb, David, Plumpton Terrace, 29, Everton Road, Liverpool.
 14th Mar., 1852. Lambert, David Howe, 10, Exchange Chambers, Dale Street, and Bedford Street, Liverpool.

- 1853-54. LANCASTER, THE MAYOR OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex officio*.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Langton, William, Manchester.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Laycock, William, 1, Canning Street, Birkenhead.
 6th Dec., 1849. Ledger, Reuben, Knotty Ash, Liverpool.
 D. 1st April, 1852. Lee, Rev. Thomas Falkner, M.A., Grammar School, Lancaster.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Legh, G. Cornwall, M.P., High Legh, Warrington.
 D.E. 4th April, 1850. Lilford, The Lord, Oundle, Northamptonshire, and Grosvenor Place, London.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Lingard, Alexander Rowsand, M.R.C.S., Eastham.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Lindsay, Hon. Colin, Haigh Lands, Wigan.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Lister, James, Union Bank, Brunswick Street, and 2, Green Bank, Breckfield Road North, Liverpool.
 Mayor Li, 1851-2. Littledale, Thomas, Highfield House, and 18, Exchange Buildings, Liverpool.
 1853-54. LIVERPOOL, THE MAYOR OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex officio*.
 D.E. 14th Dec., 1848. Lloyd, John Buck, Exchange Alley, Exchange Street West, and Aigburth, (Mayor of Liverpool.)
 D. 6th Jan., 1853. Longton, John, Breck Road, and Peter's Place, Rumford Street, Liverpool.
 D. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Lord, Lieut. William, R.N., Surveyor of the Port, 16, Sandon Street, Liverpool.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Lowndes, Matthew Dobson, 7, Brunswick Street, Liverpool.
 5th Dec., 1850. Lucas, Henry Walker, 80, Old Bond Street, London.
 14th April, 1853. Lyon, Henry, Appleton Hall, Warrington.
 D.E. 6th Dec., 1849. Lyon, Thomas, Appleton Hall, Warrington.
 D. 3rd Mar., 1853. MacIntyre, Peter, M.D., 120, Duke Street, Liverpool.
 5th May, 1853. *Macrae, John Wrigley, Edge Lane, and 22, Hackin's Hey, Liverpool.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Macrorie, David, M.D., M.R.C.S., 126, Duke Street, Liverpool.
 1853-54. MANCHESTER, THE MAYOR OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex officio*.
 3rd Jan., 1849. *Manchester, The Lord Bishop of, Sedgley Hall, Manchester.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Markland, James Heywood, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Bath.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Marsden, George, 52, Pembroke Place, Liverpool.
 5th June, 1851. Marsh, John Finchett, Fairfield, Warrington.
 E. 9th Mar., 1854. Mason, William Ithell, 14, Lower Hope Place, Liverpool.
 D.E. 8th Nov., 1849. Massie, Rev. William H., St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Mather, Daniel, 58, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
 D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. MATHER, JOHN, 58, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, AUDITOR.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Mather, Robert, 58, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
 4th April, 1850. Mawdesley, Joseph, 10, West Derby Street, and 49, South John Street, Liverpool.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Mawdaley, James, 11, Canning Street, and 4, Castle Street, Liverpool.

- 15th Mar., 1849. Mayer, Jos., Brown Hills, Burslem, Staffordshire.
D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. **MAYER, JOSEPH, F.S.A.,** Hon. Mem. SS. Antiq., Normandy, l'Ouest, the Morini; de la Société d'Emulation, Abbeville, &c., 68, Lord Street, Liverpool, Hon. CURATOR.
- 7th Feb., 1850. Mayer, Samuel, Newcastle-under-Lyne.
23rd Nov., 1848. Mayer, Thomas, Dale Hall, Longport, Staffordshire.
23rd Nov., 1848. M'Conkey, Rev. Andrew, M.A., Walton Road, Kirkdale.
D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. **M'QUIE, PETER ROBINSON,** Low Hill, and 20, Water Street, Liverpool, AUDITOR.
- D. 6th Dec., 1849. M'Vicar, Duncan, Abercromby Terrace, and 7, Exchange Buildings, Liverpool.
D.E.P. 6th Dec., 1849. **MIDDLETON, JAMES, F.S.A.,** Grecian Terrace, Everton, and 12, Rumford Place, Liverpool.
- Mayor Li, 1848-9. Moore, John Bramley, Carioca Lodge, Aigburth, and Orange Court, Castle Street, Liverpool.
D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. **MOORE, THOMAS, 32,** Chapel Walks, and 10, Beaufort Buildings, Seacombe, Cheshire.
E.P. 8th Nov., 1849. **MOORE, REV. THOMAS, M.A.,** Norwood Grove, Whitefield Road, Liverpool, Hon. SECRETARY.
- D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Mortimer, William Williams, City Walls, Chester.
E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Moss, Rev. John James, B.A., Otterspool, Aigburth.
23rd Nov., 1848. Mostyn, Rev. G. Thornton, M.A., St. Helena.
7th Mar., 1850. Mott, Albert J., 20, South Castle Street, and Edge Hill, Liverpool.
- P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Muspratt, Sheridan, Ph.D., F.R.S.E., M.R.I.A., &c., College of Chemistry, Duke Street, Liverpool.
- D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. **NEILL, HUGH, L.R.C.S.E., F.R.A.S.,** 115, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Nicholson, James, F.S.A., Thelwall Hall, Warrington.
D. 6th Dec., 1849. North, Alfred, 33, Huskisson Street, Liverpool.
- 2nd Jan., 1851. Oates, Capt. W. C., Cavendish Place, Bath.
D.P. 6th Dec., 1849. Ormerod, George, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Sedbury Park, Chepstow.
- D. 6th June, 1850. **ORMEROD, GEORGE WARING, M.A., F.G.S.,** 9, Adelphi Terrace, Salford.
6th Feb., 1851. Osborne, John James, Macclesfield.
3rd Jan., 1850. Overend, James, 45, Hope Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Paris, Thomas Jeremiah, 68, Lord Street, Liverpool.
3rd Jan., 1850. Parker, Charles Stewart, Bank Chambers, Cook Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Parr, Alfred, M.D., St. George's Mount, New Brighton, Cheshire.
- 7th Mar., 1850. *Patten, John Wilson, M.P., Bank Hall, Warrington.
23rd Nov., 1848. Pedder, Edward, Clifton Hall, Preston.
E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Pedder, Richard, Stanley Terrace, Preston.
23rd Nov., 1848. Penny, Rev. Edward, M.A., Rectory, Great Mongeham, Kent.
- 6th Dec., 1849. Perkes, Samuel, 1, Wallbrook, City, London.
8th Dec., 1851. Perrin, Joseph, The Creecant, Levenshulme, near Manchester.

- D.E.P. 6th Jan., 1849. Picton, James Allanson, F.S.A., 19, Clayton Square, and Sandy Knowe, Wavertree.
- 6th Dec., 1849. Pierce, George Massie, 4, Exchange Alley, and Linacre Marsh, Liverpool.
- E. 3rd May, 1849. Pierpoint, Benjamin, Warrington.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Pilkington, James, M.P., Park Place, Blackburn.
- 10th Feb., 1858. *Platt, Robert, Dean Water, Handforth, Manchester.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Poggi, Rev. Dominica Joseph, D.D., New Brighton College, Cheshire.
- D. 6th Dec., 1849. POOLE, JOHN, 28, Oxford Street, Liverpool.
- Mayor M., 1851-2. Potter, Sir John, Manchester.
- 6th Dec., 1849. Preston, William, 13, Vernon Street, and Rock House, West Derby Road, Liverpool.
- 9th Mar., 1854. Radcliffe, John, Eaton Cottage, Knotty Ash, and 2, Chapel Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Raikes, Worshipful and Rev. H., M.A., Hon. Canon and Chancellor of Chester, Dee Side, Chester.
- D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Raines, Rev. Canon, M.A., F.S.A., Milnrow Parsonage, Rochdale.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Reay, James, Guardian Office, Commerce Court, Lord Street, Liverpool.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Reay, Thomas, 87, Church Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Raffles, Rev. Thomas, D.D., LL.D., Mason Street, Edge Hill, Liverpool.
- D. 15th Mar., 1849. Rawlinson, Robert, Gwydyr House, London.
- 7th Mar., 1850. Richardson, Samuel, 4, Berkeley Street, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Roberts, Rev. E., M.A., Seacombe, Cheshire.
- D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Roberts, William John, Lydiate, and 7, Berry Street, Liverpool.
- D.E. 14th Dec., 1848. Robin, John, Chapel Walks, South Castle Street, and Grove Hill, West Kirby, Cheshire.
- 8th Mar., 1853. Robinson, John, Westfield, Huddersfield.
- D.E.P. 3rd May, 1849. ROBSON, JOHN, Warrington.
- D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. ROBINSON, CHARLES BACKHOUSE, 102, Chatham Street, Liverpool.
- 3rd Jan., 1850. Ronald, Robert Wilson, 1, Everton Brow, Liverpool.
- 14th April, 1853. Ryder, Thomas Bromfield, Cuthbert's Buildings, Clayton Square, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Scholefield, Henry D., M.D., M.B.C.S., 14, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead.
- E. 23rd Nov., 1848. SEFTON, THE EARL OF, Croxteth Hall, West Derby, VICE-PRESIDENT.
- 8th Jan., 1852. Sharp, John, Dalton Square, Lancaster.
- 2nd June, 1853. Sharp, William, Westlands, Wimbledon, London.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Sharpe, Edmund, M.A., Lancaster.
- 7th Feb., 1850. Sherlock, Cornelius, 22, King Street, and Stanley, Liverpool.
- Mayor La, 1851-2. Sherson, John Herdman, Lancaster.
- E. 3rd May, 1849. Shute, Robert, Crediton, Devon.
- D. 8th Jan., 1852. Simpson, Rev. Robert, M.A., Skerton, Lancaster.
- D. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Simpson, Rev. Samuel, Douglas, Isle of Man.
- 9th Dec., 1852. Smith, George F., 6, Park Lane, Liverpool.

- D. 2nd May, 1850. *Smith, James, Brunswick Dock and Seaforth.
 6th Jan., 1853. Smith, William Penn, 26, Hanover Street, Liverpool.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Snowball, J. G., 16, Castle Street, and 11, Upper
 Canning Street, Liverpool.
 1st Feb., 1849. Stephens, Alfred, 4, Upper Parliament Street, Liver-
 pool.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Stewart, Rev. John, M.A., Hayman's Green, West
 Derby.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Stewart, Rev. William, M.A., The Parsonage, Hale.
 6th June, 1850. Stock, John, 7, Exchange Buildings, and Westdale,
 Wavertree, Liverpool.
 D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Stonehouse, James, 9, Christian Street North, Ever-
 ton, Liverpool.
 D.E. 8th Nov., 1849. Stuart, William, 1, Rumford Place, and Springfield
 House, Knotty Ash, Liverpool.
 5th June, 1851. Stubs, Joseph, Park Place, Frodsham.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Sutton, Hugh Gaskell, Exchange Court, Exchange
 Street East, and Wood End, Aigburth.
 23rd Nov., 1848. Sweetlove, John, 41, Edward Square, Kensington,
 London.
 4th Mar., 1852. Sykes, James, Breck House, Poulton-le-Fylde, and
 49, Seymour Street, Liverpool.
 D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Thicknesse, Ralph A., M.P., Beech Hill, Wigan.
 D.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. THOM, REV. DAVID, D.D., Ph.D., 3, St. Mary's Place,
 Edge Hill, Liverpool, VICE-PRESIDENT.
 E.P. 8th Dec., 1851. Thornber, Rev. William, B.A., Blackpool.
 D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Thornely, James, 7, Dingle Terrace, Toxteth Park,
 Liverpool.
 8th Dec., 1851. Tinne, John A., 13, Bank Chambers, Cook Street, and
 Briarley, Aigburth.
 E. 14th Dec., 1848. Tobin, Thomas, F.S.A., Ballincollig, Cork.
 8th Jan., 1852. Torr, John, 13, Exchange Buildings, and Eastham.
 5th Dec., 1850. Tucker, Robert, 11, North View, Edge Hill, Liverpool.
 D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Tudor, Richard A., M.R.C.S., Church View, Bootle.
 14th April, 1853. Turner, Charles, Dingle Head, Liverpool.
 D. 6th Dec., 1849. Turner, Edward, High Street, Newcastle, Staffordshire.
 D. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Varty, Thomas, 39, Prospect Vale, Fairfield, and Lime
 Street, Liverpool.
 14th April, 1853. Vose, James, M.D., 5, Gambier Terrace, Hope Street,
 Liverpool.
 Mayor C, 1848-9. *Walker, Sir Edward, Chester.
 6th Mar., 1851. Warburton, Rowland Eyles Egerton, Arley Hall,
 Cheshire.
 8th Jan., 1852. Watson, William Pilkington, Rock Park, Rock Ferry.
 6th June, 1850. Waterhouse, Sebastian, 13, Percy Street, Liverpool.
 D. 2nd May, 1850. *Way, Albert, M.A., F.S.A., Wonham Manor, Reigate,
 Surrey.
 E. 1st Feb., 1849. Webster, George, Commerce Court, Lord Street, and
 7, Northumberland Terrace, Everton, Liverpool.
 D.E. 1st Feb., 1849. *WHITEHEAD, JAMES WRIGHT, Orange Court, Castle
 Street, and 15, Duke Street, Edge Hill, Liverpool.

- 6th June, 1850. Whiteley, Rev. William, Catsclough, Winsford, Cheshire.
- 2nd June, 1853. Whitley, George, 5, Clayton Square, Liverpool, and Bromborough.
- Mayor C, 1850 51. Williams, John, Chester.
- 8th Jan., 1852. Willoughby, Edward G., Marine Cottage, Tranmere.
- 23rd Nov. 1848. Wilson, Henry, 12, Everton Terrace, and Collegiate Institution, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Winstanley, Samuel T., 68, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
- 12th April, 1849. Wolley, George, 20, Mason Street, Edge Hill, Liverpool.
- 23rd Nov. 1848. Wood, Venerable Isaac, M.A., Archdeacon of Chester, The Vicarage, Middlewich.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Wood, Isaac Moreton, Middlewich, Cheshire.
- 23rd Nov., 1848. Wood, John Nelson, Chapel Walks, South Castle Street, and Oaklands, Rock Ferry, Cheshire.
- 9th Feb., 1854. Wood, Samuel, F.S.A., The Abbey, Shrewsbury.
- 10th Feb., 1853. Wood, Thomas, Blue Coat Hospital, Liverpool.
- D.E. 7th May, 1851. *Woodhouse, John George, 47, Henry Street, Liverpool.
- 12th April, 1849. Wright, William, 25, Exchange Alley North, and 25, Deane Street, Fairfield, Liverpool.
- 5th May, 1853. Wylie, Alexander Henry, 6, Catherine Street, Liverpool.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

- D. 6th Feb., 1851. Akerman, John Yonge, Sec. S.A.; F.S.A. Newcastle; F.R.S. of Northern Antiquaries; Corr. Mem. SS. Antiq. Scot. France, Russia, Switzerland, Rome; Somerset House, London.
- D.P. 13th Nov., 1851. Bell, William, Ph.D., 52, Burton Street, Burton Crescent, London.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Blaauw, William Henry, M.A., F.S.A., M.R.G.S., 3, Queen Anne Street, London, and Beechland, Uckfield, Sussex.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Boileau, Sir John P., Bart., F.R.S., F.S.A., Ketteringham Park, Wyndham, Norfolk, and 20, Upper Brooke Street, London.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Charlton, Edward, M.D., F.S.A., Newcastle, 7, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- D. 8th Jan., 1852. De Perthes, J. Boucher de Crevecoeur, Chevalier des ordres de Malte et de Legion d'honneur, membre des diverses Sociétés Savantes, Abbeville.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Duncan, Philip B., M.A., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- D. 6th Dec., 1849. Londesborough, The Lord, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A., Grimeston, Tadcaster, and 8, Carleton House Terrace, London.
- 9th Dec., 1852. MacAdam, Robert, College Square, Belfast.

- D.E.P. 7th May, 1851. PIGEON, HENRY CLARKE, 30, Upper Montagu Street, Montagu Square, London, LONDON SECRETARY.
- D.E. 6th Feb., 1851. Smith, Charles Roach, F.S.A., Hon. Mem. SS. Antiq. France, Copenhagen, Normandy, Scotland, Spain, Newcastle, the Morini, Abbeville, and Picardy, 5, Liverpool Street, City, London.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Turnbull, William, B.D.D., F.S.A. Scot., 3, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, London.
- D. 6th Feb., 1851. Turner, Dawson, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., Hon. M.R.I.A., M.R.S.L., Barnes, Surrey, and Athenæum Club, London.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Williams, Rev. John, M.A., Llanymowddy, Mallwyd.
- 6th Feb., 1851. Willis, Rev. Robert, M.A., F.R.S., Jacksonian Professor, Caius' College, Cambridge.

COUNCIL AND OFFICERS FOR 1853-4.

President.

The Right Hon. The EARL OF ELLESMERE, D.C.L., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., Worsley Hall, Lancashire.

Vice-Presidents.

EX OFFICIO.

THE MAYOR OF CHESTER.
THE MAYOR OF LANCASTER.
THE MAYOR OF LIVERPOOL.
THE MAYOR OF MANCHESTER.

ELECTED.

Right Hon. THE EARL OF SEFTON, Croxteth Hall, Lancashire.
Major-General The Hon. Sir EDWARD CUST, K.C.H., D.C.L., F.R.S., Leasowe Castle, Cheshire.
The Venerable JONATHAN BROOKS, M.A., Archdeacon of Liverpool, Everton, Liverpool.
Rev. DAVID THOM, D.D., Ph.D., Edge Hill, Liverpool.

Other Members of the Council, elected.

JOSEPH BOULT, Esq., Harrington Chambers, North John Street.
MATTHEW DAWES, F.S.A., F.G.S., Westbrooke, Bolton.
HENRY DAWSON, Esq., Redcross Street.
THOMAS FLEMING, Esq., 52, Castle Street.
SAMUEL GATH, Esq., 137, Finch Street.
EDWARD HEATH, Esq., Orange Court, Castle Street.
Rev. J. S. HOWSON, M.A., Collegiate Institution.
JAMES KENDRICK, M.D., Warrington.

JAMES MIDDLETON, F.S.A., Grecian Terrace, Everton.
THOMAS MOORE, Esq., 18, Chapel Street.
HUGH NEILL, F.R.A.S., Mount Pleasant.
GEORGE W. ORMEROD, M.A., F.G.S., Manchester.
JOHN POOLE, Esq., 23, Oxford Street.
C. B. ROBINSON, Esq., 102, Chatham Street.
JOHN ROBSON, Esq., Warrington.
JAMES W. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Orange Court, Castle Street.

Auditors.

PETER R. McQUIE, Esq., 20, Water Street. | JOHN MATHER, Esq., 58, Mount Pleasant.

Treasurer.

THOMAS AVISON, F.S.A., 15, Cook Street, Liverpool.

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SECRETARY IN LONDON.

H. C. PIDGEON, Esq., 30, Upper Montagu Street, Montagu Square.

FIRST MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 3rd November, 1853.

JOHN ROBSON, Esq., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of nine Candidates for Membership were read for the first time

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table.

1. From *Societies and Institutions.*

From the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.;—Description of Antient Works in Ohio, by Charles Whittlesea, Esq.; Aboriginal Monuments of the State of New York, by E. G. Squier, A. M.; Contribution to the Physical Geography of the United States, by Charles Ellet, jun., Esq.; Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language, by the Rev. S. R. Riggs, M. A.; Hints on Public Architecture, containing Illustrations, Views, and Plans, of the Smithsonian Institution, by R. D. Owen, Esq.; Portraits of North American Indians, with Sketches of Scenery, &c., by M. Stanley, Esq.; Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution; Norton's Literary Register, New York, 1853.

From the Society of Antiquaries, London;—Archæologia, vol. xxxv.; Proceedings of the Society, vol. ii., parts 33-36; List of the Fellows, 1853; Catalogue of the Kerrich

Collection of Roman Coins presented to the Society.

From the Cambrian Archæological Association ;—Archæologia Cambrensis, No. 15, 1853.

From the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society ;—Original Papers, &c., vol. iv., parts 1 and 2, 1852-1853.

2. From *Authors*.

British and Roman Remains, illustrative of Communications with "Venta Silurum," Antient Passages of the British Channel, and Antoninus' Iter xiv; by George Ormerod, D.C.L., F.R.S., 1852.

Liverpool, its Highways and Byways, and Thoroughfares by Land and Water, being a Stranger's Guide through the Town; by James Stonehouse.

Profiles of Warrington Worthies, collected and arranged by James Kendrick, M.D. Warrington, 1853.

The Education of the Poor in Liverpool, a paper read before the Statistical Section of the British Association at Hull, September 12th, 1853; by the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D.

3. From *other Donors*.

Descriptive Catalogue of the London Traders' Tavern and Coffee House Tokens, presented to the Library of the Corporation of London, by H. B. H. Beaufoy, Esq., edited by Jacob Henry Burn, Esq.; from the Guildhall Library Committee.

Report of the Health Committee of the Borough of Liverpool, by James Newlands, Esq., C.E., 1853; from the Health Committee.

The *Athenæum*, London Journal of Art and Science, from the commencement, half-bound calf; from David Lamb, Esq.

Pevensey Castle, and the recent Excavations there, by M. A. Lower, M.A., F.S.A., 1853; from Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A.

Chinese Numismatics, by John Williams, Esq., Hon. Librarian to the Numismatic Society of London; from J. Y. Akerman, Sec. S.A.

Catalogue of the Library of the late William Roscoe, with sale prices marked; and Historical Narrative of the Town and Parish of Nantwich—Shrewsbury 1784; from James Stonehouse.

Copy of the Deed of Incorporation of the Liverpool Corporation Water Works, 1800; and Five Broad-sheet Reports of the Expenses of this Corporation; from James Thornely, Esq.

Cast of the Handle of an Amphora, said to have been found on Castle Field, Manchester; from Charles Bradbury, Esq., Manchester.

The following articles were EXHIBITED :—

Sir Philip Grey Egerton, Bart., forwarded three MSS., two of which were elegantly bound, and contained in an appropriate box. (1) Brereton's Travels, recording the travels of Sir William Brereton, Bart., of Handforth; in Holland, in 1694, and in Scotland and Ireland in 1695. This has been printed as the first volume of the Chetham Society's Series. (2) Letter of George Fleetwood, describing the Battle of Lutzen, and death of Gustavus Adolphus, 22nd November, 1632; printed in the Miscellany of the Camden Society, vol. i, 1847. (3) Services and charges of William Lord Grey, of Wilton; printed as vol. xl. in the Camden Series, 1847.

Two ancient volumes were exhibited by Peter R. McQuie, Esq.—(1) "Le Grand Tableau de L'Univers, ou L'Histoire des Evenemens de L'Eglise," Amsterdam, folio, 1714. (2) An ancient volume filled with curious Scripture illustrations.

Edward Benn, Esq., exhibited a Ring, a Bracelet, and a Brooch. They were all of silver, and had been found in Ireland.

Dr. Kendrick exhibited a brass token. On the *obverse* was the legend "Elizabeth Wolley, Her Halfpenny," and on the *reverse*, in the centre, a crown, with the Prince of Wales's Feathers, and the date 1667.

The Rev. Thomas Moore laid on the table a History of the Antiquities of Nantwich, by J. W. Platt; London, 1818.

PAPER.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIVERPOOL ELECTION OF 1670; FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS IN THE POSSESSION OF JOHN IRELAND BLACKBURNE, ESQ., OF HALE.

By the Rev. A Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A.

It is a curious fact, that in the town of Liverpool, the ordinary authorities to which one naturally turns, sometimes exhibit strange defects. For example, in Gore's Directory, the list of Representatives in Parliament is only given from the commencement of the reign of George III; and under the title "Annals of Liverpool," though minute incidents are frequently mentioned, there is no allusion to an election in 1670. If we turn to an older record, the Squib Book of 1761, which professes to give the names of the representatives of Liverpool from 1760, we find the following:—

1660. William Stanley and Sir Gilbert Ireland.

1661. William Stanley and Sir Gilbert Ireland.

1678. Richard Wentworth and John Dubois.

This omits altogether the election of which a full account is given in these papers, as well as others which occurred subsequently to 1661, and yet before the last mentioned date. Baines'* list of members for Liverpool, extending from 1295 to 1835, is not more accurate than this.

The following is a more complete account, serving to show the outline of facts:—

1660. Hon. Wm. Stanley, (æ 19); Sir Gilbert Ireland, Knight.

1661. Hon. W. Stanley; Sir Gilbert Ireland, Knight.

1670. Mr. Stanley died in the afternoon of Tuesday, the 25th of October;* and on Friday, December 9th, Sir William Bucknall, Knight, was elected in his stead.

* History of Lancashire, IV., 147.

* From the first letter in the series, it would appear that he died on the 24th; but on comparing the dates with the days of the week, it is clear that Mr. Bowyer mistook the day of the month. In like manner Mr. Percivall (XVI) mistook the month, writing November for December; and the Mayor and Aldermen (L) mistook the year, writing 1670 for 1671.

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1675. On the 30th of April,—and just two months before the death of his Lady—Sir Gilbert Ireland died at Bewsey, at the age of 51. On the 6th of May a new Writ was issued, and William Bankes, Esq., of Winstanley Hall, who had married Elizabeth Ireland of Bewsey, aunt to Lady Ireland of Hale, was elected to succeed him.

1676. In the early part of this year Mr. Bankes died, at the advanced age of 92; and about the same time Sir William Bucknall died. On the 16th of February, two Writs were issued; but the names of the members who were returned do not appear.

1678. A new election occurring, the members returned were Sir Ralph Assheton, Bart., of Whalley, and Richard Atherton, Esq., afterwards (1684) Sir Richard Atherton, Knight and Mayor of Liverpool, and (1685) again one of the representatives in parliament.

1678. On the 5th of June in this year a petition against the return was forwarded by Sir Edward Moore, Bart., of More Hall, and the sitting members were declared to be Richard Wentworth and John Dubois.

Thus, the ordinary account omits no fewer than three distinct elections, at which four members were chosen; and in a fourth election, the names of two members who were chosen but unseated. The names of four out of these six representatives we are able to restore. Mr. Thomas Heywood remarks * that “during this repetition of the long parliament, Liverpool had six † members, (four dying), and three elections in seventeen years.”

The election of 1670 is that which is referred to in the Ireland Correspondence; and I propose merely to compile from these papers, and from authorities relating to contemporary events, a brief and connected narrative of facts. In using the documents for information, it will not be necessary to illustrate them minutely, ‡ as if they were issued separately, to afford materials for

* Moore Rental, (Chetham Soc.) Appendix p. 134. † It may have had *eight*.

‡ Since the Paper was read before the Society, the Council have resolved to print the Papers as an Appendix to the Volume. This has produced a slight alteration in the matter of it, such as the omission of quotations, and of descriptions; the facts in which are more easily derivable from the originals. In the middle of November, I learned from Mr. Beamont, of Warrington, that a transcript of the whole series had formerly been made by him, with the intension of editing and printing them. This he was kind enough to forward to me; but the documents are printed from a transcript of my own. I am

future history. Such information, however, as is necessary, especially in reference to persons, will be added in elucidation of the statements.

In all election matters, there is of necessity a great degree of sameness. There are the usual promises of Candidates and their friends; the usual amount of influence exercised; the usual stratagems employed; and, we may add, the usual corrupting agencies called into play. In this case, too, high personages were mixed up with the events; and a deeper interest seems to have been felt, both in London and throughout the country, in the issue of the election, than the small importance of Liverpool at that time would have led us to expect.

While Sir Gilbert Ireland was staying at his residence at Hale, in October, 1670, he received intelligence from Mr. Thomas Boyer or Bowyer, of London, that his colleague Mr. Stanley had died on the 25th. The letter was written on the 26th, and the post which brought it brought also the first application for Sir Gilbert's influence, from the father of one of the candidates. In the absence of local applicants, the representation was practically open to all England; and the inhabitants, as in the case of small boroughs at present, examined which of the applicants was the most likely person to promote their interests. The influence of the two neighbouring peers, and of some families in the town was considerable; and both Mr. Stanley and Sir Gilbert Ireland, at their election, represented the Derby interest, which was, both then and subsequently, a strong one in the town.

It was naturally supposed that the voice of the sitting member would have great weight in deciding who should be his colleague; especially as the town was then so small as to be dependent, in a great degree, upon the patronage of the surrounding gentry. SIR GILBERT IRELAND was the eldest son of John Ireland, of the Hutt and Hale; and he married a distant relation, Margaret, daughter and sole heir of Thomas Ireland, of Bewsey, near Warrington. From an early age, he had occupied a prominent position in public affairs. In 1645, he was one of the Committee * for the County of Lancaster, appointed by the Lords and Commons. In 1648, he was High Sheriff of the County, and continued so till May, 1649.|| In 1654, as well as 1656, he represented the County in Parlia-

also indebted to him for some memoranda which he had collected respecting the Birches, and Sir Gilbert Ireland; to these I have referred on two or three occasions.

* Civil War Tracts, (Chetham Soc.,) p. 210. + Baines's Lancashire, I., 207.

ment; in the latter year he is styled Colonel Ireland.* "April 10th, 1655, Col. Gilbert Ireland writes to the Protector, 'Yesterday I received the government of Liverpool, wherein, as in all other trusts, I shall diligently wait for and observe all your commands.' He had a few days before, with his son-in-law† Aspinwall, been at Frodsham, to examine Col. Werden, in Halsall's matter as to Ascham's murder."‡ In the rising of Sir George Booth in 1659, and the contemporaneous one in Lancashire by Lord Derby, he took a part;§ and from 1658, we find him serving as Burgess for Liverpool. In 1673 he was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant for the County, by John, 2nd Earl Bridgewater;|| and in 1675 he died, during his year of office as Mayor of Liverpool. A monument erected to his memory at Hale, shortly after his death, is now destroyed, and only a fragment of it remains.¶

MR. ROBERT WHARTON, who was a barrister, and had been educated at Merton College, Oxford, has a letter promptly written on his behalf by his father. The writer represents himself as an extensive trader, though he does not state in what commodity; he consumes of his own growth £10,000 worth annually, and keeps 1,000 men in constant employment. He also mentions that he is a native of the north of England, and that he possesses estates in the counties of York, Durham, and Westmoreland. He was probably of the family of Wharton, (now Wharton Myddleton,) of Durham and Yorkshire; ** the Gillingwood branch of which is extinct in the male line. A pleasing character of the son is given; he was in good esteem both at his College and at the Middle Temple; he was acquainted with many of the younger nobility; and he possessed such influence as might already have secured him a seat for Scarborough, but that the borough had been promised before the death of the previous representative.††

The next in the field is a Mr. Rosse, a native of Scotland. He had been tutor in the family of the Duke of Monmouth, to the Earls of Dalkeith and Deloraine, and was at this time his Grace's secretary. Letters arrived respecting him from Mr. Greenhaigh, who wrote apparently at the Duke's

* Baines I. 819.

† Edward Aspinwall was his *brother-in-law*, not his *son-in-law*, having married Eleanor, sister and eventually co-heir of Sir Gilbert. See the Pedigree, Gregson 218, or Baines iii., 753.

‡ Moore Rental, p. 130. § Mr. Beaumont's memoranda. || Ibid. ¶ Ibid.

** One of its members was the Duke of Wharton, who joined the cause of the first Pretender, and died in a Spanish Monastery in 1731, after the forfeiture of all his honours.

†† No. II., pp. 1*, 2*.

request, from Captain Frank Smith, who speaks of the Duke as "my Captain," from Lady Southampton,* and from the Duke himself. His Grace's autograph is one of the curiosities of the collection. It is only necessary to say of Mr. Rosse that his claims were not long before the electors; for on the 7th of November it was reported that his Grace had advised him to retire from the contest. This advice he subsequently accepted. The Earl of Derby was favourably disposed towards him, but he had no hold whatever on the people of the town.

SIR GEORGE LANE was the next candidate. He was a native of Ireland, of Tulske in the County of Roscommon; and inherited from his father an English Baronetcy, conferred in 1661. He had attained considerable eminence as a statesman; and in 1665, during the Duke of Ormond's first tenure of the office of Lord Lieutenant, he was appointed Principal Secretary of State for Ireland.† His intimacy and official connexion with the Duke, as well as his general influence both in England and Ireland, procured him many supporters; but several of them acted a secondary part, being influenced indirectly. The first who writes on his behalf and formally introduces him, is Colonel Worden or Werden, of Leyland in Lancashire, and Cholmerton in Cheshire. He was eminent as a loyalist in the reign of Charles I, for which he suffered severely during the protectorate;‡ but from the restoration till his death in 1690, he occupied positions of trust and honour § under every sovereign.

The same post brought a letter to the Mayor and Aldermen, recommending SIR WILLIAM BUCKNALL. He was a brewer in London, and an Alderman; and had been knighted shortly before. He was the principal farmer of the Customs and Excise in Ireland, and to some extent in England also; and he naturally possessed great interest at court, Charles being his debtor, as was alleged, to the extent of £100,000. It was promised

* Frances, daughter of William second Duke of Somerset, had been married to Richard second Viscount Molyneux, and therefore was acquainted with Liverpool and the neighbourhood. After his death, she became the third wife of Thomas Wriothesley, fourth Earl of Southampton, and Lord High Treasurer of England. He had died three years before, so that when she wrote she was Dowager Countess. She afterwards married Conyers D'Arcie, second Earl of Holderness, being the third of his four wives; but she died without issue.

† The appointment was in reversion, after Sir Paul Davies, Knt., who then held it; but it would appear that Sir George Lane enjoyed it previous to 1670.

‡ It was in his drawing room at Chester that the soldiers of Cromwell played at nine pins.

§ His son was created a Baronet in 1672, and in 1722 the daughter of the second Baronet became Duchess of St. Albans.

that he would be able to promote the trade of the town, and to assist the inhabitants in their contests with their neighbouring lord.* The person who writes on Sir William Bucknall's behalf is Colonel John Birch,† well known in connexion with Liverpool; and his double letter with double postscript, (all written on one sheet,) is dated from the Excise Office.

MR. ASHURST had been spoken of by some of the writers as a candidate before the end of October; yet we do not find any letter from him till the beginning of December, or a few days before the election. The reason of this was that he wrote to the Mayor in the beginning of November, and afterwards came down in person; he then waited on Sir Gilbert Ireland in company with some friends, and no doubt on Lord Derby also; and attended to his interests with some vigour. His father, the third son of Henry Ashurst of Ashurst, in Lancashire, was an eminent draper in London. He was an Alderman; was distinguished for piety and humanity; and it is said of him that he was one of the chief promoters of the translation of the Bible into the Hindoostanee language. The candidate for the representation of Liverpool was Henry his eldest son; whom Mr. Borron speaks of as "the presbyter." His own letters show modesty and gentleness of disposition.

MR. DOBSON of Gray's Inn was mentioned, in one of the earliest letters, as a candidate, yet it is the 19th of November before we find any letter from himself. He was a Solicitor, a native of Lancashire, but resident permanently in London; and he is called "Lord Gerard's friend." He alludes to his lordship in his own letter to Sir Gilbert Ireland, as ready to make any reasonable effort on his behalf. The title was held at this time by two distinct persons; viz. Digby Gerard, fifth Baron Gerard of Bromley, Stafford, and Fitton Gerard, third Earl of Macclesfield and Baron Gerard of Brandon, Suffolk. It is the former peer to whom reference is made in the letters; he was connected paternally with the latter, and also married his sister‡ and co-heir.

* This was Caryll, third Viscount Molyneux.

† Colonel John Birch was a native of Herefordshire, and from Mr. Percivall's letter, (9*) appears to have been at this date a member of parliament. He is to be distinguished from Colonel Thomas Birch, of Birch, near Manchester, who was Governor of the Castle of Liverpool, and known as "Lord Derby's Carter." The Civil War Tracts (Otham Soc.) Norris Papers, and Moore Rental, contain a good deal of information respecting the latter.

‡ The two sisters and co-heirs of the last Earl of Macclesfield had each an only child, a daughter. Lord Gerard's daughter married James fourth Duke of Hamilton,

A letter was written proposing another candidate, **SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, BART.**, but it does not appear that any encouragement was given to him, or that any farther steps were taken in the matter. The writer was Sir Richard Temple, Bart., of Stowe, Bucks; a leading member of the House of Commons in the reign of Charles II. He calls Sir William a near relation, and also a cousin;* both of which terms are to be understood with some limitation. Sir William, who was then ambassador in Holland, attained great distinction as a diplomatist and a man of letters. He was at that time 41 years of age, had been created a Baronet, and had the appointment of Master of the Rolls for Ireland, which his father held, conferred on him in reversion. He was, afterwards, the author of the scheme which was received with great favour by the King, for re-organizing the Privy Council of England, and he was sworn in as one† of the thirty to whom the number was then restricted.

To this long list it is necessary to add three others, who were not actually candidates, but whose names were mentioned in connexion with the representation of the town. These were, "one of the **MR. HALSALLS**;" **MR. ENTRISLE**, probably of the family of Foxholes; and **MR. SPENCER** of Ashton. Before Colonel Birch's letter could have reached the Mayor and Corporation, they had an intention of requesting Mr. Spencer‡ to represent the town, and Lord Derby thought him a fit and proper person; but he seems not to have been thought of afterwards.

Of the seven formal applicants, it is unnecessary to notice further either Mr. Rosse or Sir William Temple. Mr. Wharton wrote in his own behalf on the 29th of October, and again on the 12th of November, after the writ had been forwarded to Liverpool. He had hoped to bring the influence

and the other niece of the Earl, married Lord Mohun. The greater part of the property being bequeathed to the latter, a law suit was entered upon, which terminated in a personal quarrel. A duel was fought with swords in St. James's Park, on Sunday morning, 15th November, 1712, when both were killed; but Lord Mohun's second, General Macartney was the slayer of the Duke, for which he was convicted of manslaughter four years afterwards.

* Their paternal grandfathers were cousins in the strict sense; they themselves were third cousins.

† His name was struck from the list in January, 1681. His younger brother who is mentioned as Solicitor-General for Ireland, was father of the first Viscount Palmerston. Sir Richard was father of Viscount Cobham and of the Countess Temple who brought the first title into the family of the present Duke of Buckingham.

‡ He was descended from Lord Spencer, ancestor of the Earls of Sunderland and Dukes of Marlborough.

of Lord Colchester* to bear strongly in his favour, but it does not appear that he succeeded; and on the 19th, his father writes a letter of thanks, his claims being withdrawn.

The active candidates may be regarded as only four in number, Sir George Lane, Sir William Bucknall, Mr. Dobson and Mr. Ashurst.

Sir George Lane has a letter in his behalf from Alexander Rigby,† on the 29th of October; in which the other candidates are noticed incidentally, and the influence of the Duke of Ormond is alluded to. It is addressed to Sir Roger Bradshaigh, then one of the County Members; the Hon. Edward Stanley, brother to the late Member for Liverpool, was the other. On the day following, Lord Derby does not appear to be aware what candidates are in the field, a fact which is partly accounted for by the want of rapidity in postal and other communication; for he mentions only Mr. Spencer of Ashton, who did not stand, and Mr. Rosse.

Another friend who applied on behalf of Sir George, was the Earl of Ancram. He was Charles Kerr, second Earl, whose mother had been daughter to William ‡ Earl of Derby. He speaks in high terms of Sir George's general character; alludes to the interest which he possesses in Ireland; and mentions his own "many ties of blood and obligation to all Lancashier."

It does not appear that either Sir Roger Bradshaigh or Sir Geoffrey Shakerley was personally acquainted with Sir George Lane, though both assumed some prominence and took some pains in his cause. The former§ was well known as a good soldier and a man of a very charitable disposition. He conformed to the Protestant religion, under the influence of his guardian, James, Earl of Derby; and represented either the County of Lancaster or the Borough of Wigan in Parliament, till his death in 1684. The latter was a distinguished loyalist, who during the battle on Rowton Moor had crossed the river Dee in a tub, to convey intelligence to King

* In No. IX he mentions several letters of introduction; but he appears to make some mistake respecting the relationship of the parties. Lord Colehester was Thomas Savage, son of Thomas, third Earl Rivers. He had married the daughter of Lord Derby, and he died before his father.

+ He appears to have been one of the representatives of the county, in 1658-59.—Baines, I. 319.

‡ He was therefore cousin to the Lord Derby of 1670.

§ He was of Marple and Haigh; was Knighted in 1627, and created a Baronet in 1679.

Charles I. After the restoration, he* was appointed Governor of Chester Castle. Sir Geoffrey had received letters from the Duke of Ormond and Mr. Thomas Cholmondeley, on Sir George Lane's behalf; he endorses the sentiments contained in these and writes to Sir Roger, who forwards the letter and perhaps that of Mr. Rigby also, to Sir Gilbert Ireland. Sir Gilbert espouses the interest of Sir George Lane; and a correspondence of a full and friendly character, takes place between him on the one side and Sir Roger and Sir Geoffrey on the other.

In the meanwhile, the interests of Sir William Bucknall were not forgotten. He appears to have been aware that he had no friends at Hale; for not a line from him appears throughout.

Mr. Percivall's gossiping letter† shows that the large promises of Colonel John Birch had produced their natural effect. The Aldermen were buoyed up with hopes of great things being done for the town; and the common people experienced favours of a less distant and more real kind. No stone was left unturned by him, as we are told. It is evident, too, that the Derby and Molyneux interest were somewhat opposed in this contest, the former including the Mayor and the majority of the town's people; while Sir Roger Bradshaigh‡ is afraid that his connexion with Lord Molyneux may injure Sir George Lane's cause.

On the formal withdrawal of Mr. Rosse, Lord Derby declares in favour of Sir William Bucknall, assigning as a reason the King's command to the Duke of Monmouth. A letter from Colonel Kirkby, promised on the 17th§ of November, but written only on the 29th, asserts that Lord Derby did not give this recommendation *ex animo*, or of his own judgment, but merely because he had been commanded. This was merely by way of apology to Sir Gilbert Ireland, however; for Lord Derby showed his sincerity to the last, in Sir William Bucknall's cause.

Other influences were at work in the same direction. The Chancellor|| of the Duchy of Lancaster, affirming that his predecessors had acted similarly, wrote to the Mayor recommending Sir William Bucknall; and

* Sir Roger Bradshaigh and he married two sisters, the daughters of William Pennington, Esq., of Muncaster in the County of Cumberland.

† This letter was written on Sunday the 4th of December, but from habit the writer has said November. It is printed by oversight out of its natural order in the series; but the notice of the arrival of the writ enables us to assign to it its proper place.

‡ No. XVII. § In the postscript to Mr. Otway's letter.

|| Sir Thomas Ingram, Knt. P.C. appointed August 17th, 1664.

the Vice-Chancellor reluctantly complied with directions to write another* letter on the same subject. Towards the close of the canvass, another auxiliary appeared. This was Sir John Langham,† an Alderman of the City of London along with Sir William Bucknall; and who as a Turkey merchant, had accumulated a large fortune. Mr. Borron mentions his equipage as setting out, and his determination to spend 500 [pounds] before his return; a determination which was probably carried out.

During this time, little was heard of Mr. Dobson and Mr. Ashurst, but we are not to suppose that they were unemployed. The letter of the former to the Mayor, on the 9th of November, shows that he was alive to all the arrangements which it was necessary to make; and in his letter of the 19th, suggesting that he might possibly succeed while the others divided the small constituency, he shows some policy. Mr. Ashurst trusted more to personal exertion; and he does not appear to have written any thing till the 2nd of December, the day before the arrival of the writ in Liverpool. On the very day of its arrival, came Mr. Ashurst's formal announcement of himself as a candidate; but it is obvious that he had been before the public for some time, from the allusions in Mr. Percivall's communication.

Perhaps this is the proper place in which to speak of the Mayor. He was a Mr. Thomas Johnson. The following is derived from the account of him given in the Moore Rental,‡ furnished by Spencer Steers, Esq., of Halewood. He obtained his freedom as an apprentice, October 17th, 1655; became a Councilman in 1659; a Bailiff in 1663; and Mayor in 1670. In 1677, the new Charter of Charles II. being obtained, he refused to take the oaths, and retired from the Council; on a motion for his readmission, 7th November, 1683, he was declared ineligible. October 3rd, 1695, under the Charter of William and Mary, he was again elected Mayor; and fifteen days after, on the following St. Luke's Day,§ his son succeeded him. This was Thomas Johnson, jun., whom Queen Anne knighted, on the presentation of an address, March 10th, 1707.¶ The elder Johnson died in

* Compare XX and XXV.

† He had served the office of Sheriff of London in 1642, and was created a Baronet in 1660. He was ancestor of the present Sir J. H. Langham, Bart.

‡ pp. 143, 144.

§ October 18th.

¶ Norris Papers, 170. His name and title are still preserved in the Street called Sir Thomas's Buildings. "To him, more than to any one else, is the town indebted for its vigorous and well-omened commencement." He died in Virginia, and was buried there. Norris Papers, iv.

August, 1700; he is supposed to have been a native of Bedford, in the parish of Leigh.

Sir William Bucknell having come down to Liverpool, was able to adduce personal proofs of his liberality; he had also secured the interest of Lord Derby, and stood well with the Mayor and Aldermen. In these circumstances, his party was strongest and most rapidly matured; and it became a point of some importance to hasten the issue of the Writ, and to press on the election. The speaker of the House of Commons at that time was Sir Edward Turnor, Bart., afterwards Chief Baron of the Exchequer; the Ministry was that which is well known as the "CABAL;" and the Lord Keeper, who is mentioned first as on the side of Mr. Rosse, was Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Knight and Baronet. So early as the 26th of October,* as we learn from the letter of the elder Mr. Wharton, the Writ had been moved for and granted; yet more than five weeks elapsed before it arrived at its destination. Some of the delays were official; and others, from circumstances, were unavoidable. Mr. Otway knew well that the hastening of the Writ was disagreeable to Sir Gilbert Ireland; and on the 17th of November an explanation is offered by him, equivalent almost to an apology for the part he took.

When Mr. Dobson wrote to Sir Gilbert Ireland, he could not have been aware that the latter was so warmly interested for Sir George Lane. His ardour is shewn, however, in his mode of expressing himself, when forwarding the letter of the Duke of York, † (afterwards James II,) to the Mayor and Aldermen; from which great things were expected, but nothing resulted. The same spirit is shewn (No. XLV.) in his reply to the Mayor's letter, announcing the arrival of the Writ.

By the beginning of December, the matter was practically settled. It was seen that Sir George Lane's chance was very weak, and that the contest would probably be between Bucknell and Ashurst. Sir Gilbert Ireland and his friends hoped so; for then the validity of Bucknell's election might be subjected to parliamentary inquiry. Two days before the election, however, Lord Derby prevailed on Mr. Ashurst‡ to withdraw; and

* This was the day after Mr. Stanley's death. Mr. Otway says it was two or three days after. Mr. Wharton appears to have mistaken the date, like Mr. Boyer.

† He was Lord High Admiral from June 6th, 1680, to July 9th, 1678.

‡ He was created a Baronet in 1688, but the title became extinct in 1732. He married the daughter of Lord Paget, and afterwards sat in Parliament for the boroughs of Truro and Wilton. His younger brother, Sir William, was Lord Mayor, and afterwards M.P. for London.

on the previous and following days, both Sir Roger Bradshaigh and Sir Geoffrey Shakerley wrote pleading their inability to be present at the election. It would seem that they despaired of success, though this feeling does not appear till Lord Derby declares so strongly in favour of Sir William Bucknall; and Sir Roger Bradshaigh, in his last letter, after assisting in the usual way in Sir George Lane's cause, declares that his hands had long since been bound up from being against Bucknall.

From the last two letters of the series we learn, that Sir Gilbert Ireland, being thus left alone, still pressed the claims of Sir George Lane, though unsuccessfully; for Mat Anderton wishes to know if there is any intention to dispute the return, and Sir George's * letter of thanks mentions his kindness in "appearing" for him. Of the successful candidate, little is known further, except the period of his death. It appears from Mat Anderton's letter, that though elected on the 9th, he had not sat in the house till the 22nd of December, and could not do so before the 29th.

A hundred and eighty years ago, the public were not so sensitive on the subject of contested elections, as they have since shewn themselves, and especially in the present parliament. The treating of the electors, to almost any extent, was a matter of course; and inducements of a more substantial character were freely offered. Mr. Rosse was not sufficiently long before the electors to make any offer of treating; and in the letter of Sir Richard Temple there is no allusion to any thing of the kind. But Mr. Wharton on behalf of his son, Colonel Birch for Sir William Bucknall, and Mr. Dobson for himself, all seem quite regardless of expense, in providing creature comforts for the electors. From an allusion in Mr. Borron's letter, it is clear that Mr. Ashurst was not less liberal; and the Notice to Freemen shews that Sir Gilbert Ireland did not forget Sir George Lane's friends. Sir John Langham's efforts, on behalf of Bucknall, show us still more of the same kind; and the "Goulden nets" to which Sir Gilbert Ireland alludes, are easily understood. It is not to be wondered at, that in that age, as well as in our own, men sometimes impoverished themselves in their contentions for parliamentary honours.

The condition of the town at the period, cannot have been materially

* In 1676 Sir George Lane was created an Irish peer, by the title of Viscount Lanesborough of Longford. This expired with his son in 1724; but the grandson of the latter Viscount, Mr. Lane Fox, M.P., was raised to the English peerage, as Baron Bingley, in 1762. This title also became extinct in 1778. The family is still represented by Mr. Lane Fox, late M.P. for Beverley.

different from that which is represented in the map of 1650. In those days its progress was naturally slow; and in so small a community there was also little or no external addition. The marked increase which the town received, of Londoners,* who flocked to it after the great plague of 1665, and the great fire of 1666, had scarcely yet made any visible difference in it, though they led eventually to important results. It is only at the very close† of the century that we find insufficient accommodation in the Chapel of St. Nicholas, and an effort made to erect Liverpool into a distinct parish. An interesting model, representing the town about this period, has lately been exhibited to the public. The only places mentioned in these papers are the sites of two houses of entertainment; one in Watergate‡ Street, and the other in Dale § Street.

The List of Freemen, which was asked for by Sir Roger Bradshaigh, and prepared at the instance of Sir Gilbert Ireland, is extremely interesting. The names which it contains are 83 in all, embracing 70 distinct surnames; and of these so many as 62 are found|| in the Liverpool Directory for the present year. It is probable that in a large number of instances, the persons who now bear the names are the direct descendants of those who figured in Sir Gilbert's list, and who 'gave their presence for the good of their country, if they pleased.' Nine persons, bearing both the same Christian name and Surname, appear in the Moore Rental, written between two and three years before; they were therefore in all probability the same individuals. The "rude forefathers of the hamlet," who had opposed their landlord, Edward Moore, when he occupied the position of candidate, and who are commented upon by him with considerable severity, are now ensnared in the "Goulden nets" of "Sir Bucknall," or taste the welcome tap at Margery Forneby's and Elizabeth Ryding's.

Along with the papers which relate to the election are a few which bear upon other subjects. The most curious of these is the remonstrance of the Mayor and his brethren against Mr. Reading's project for establishing light-houses, and the reasons which they assign. These gentlemen seem to have looked upon such auxiliaries to navigation as Sir Ralph the

* Moore Rental, 76 n. + Ibid 77 n. † No XLVII.

§ Several persons are mentioned in the Moore Rental of the names Formby and Riding, but none that can be identified with the houses mentioned. They were in general tenants of Moore, but not very friendly to him.

|| The names which do not exist are Crossman, Flittercroft, Hecknell, Hermor, Lyme, Smool, Tacleton, and Thuvill.

Rover did upon the Inch Cape Bell; he thought he was only interfering with a priest's amusement or whim, when cutting it from its moorings. Of the five names appended to the document, four are well known. Coming after the Mayor's name is that of Thos Andoe, Andow, Ayndoe, or Ayndow; he was one of the Sheriffs in 1650, and Mayor in 1655. He is frequently mentioned throughout the Moore Rental. John Sturzaker was one of the Sheriffs in 1658, and Mayor in 1664; he is called "Storaker" at p. 79. Thomas Bickersteth, whose signature [Bick^rsteth] shews us the transition to the established abbreviation of his name, is frequently mentioned at the period. We find him serving the office of Sheriff in 1666, and that of Mayor in the year previous to the election, 1669. In Mr. Borron's letter * it is plainly hinted that his popularity with the sailors would secure his election for the borough, if the forces of the contending parties were pretty equally divided. He was again elected Mayor in 1675, when Sir Gilbert Ireland died in office. There was another Thomas Bickstath, or Bixteth, who was Sheriff in 1629, and Mayor in 1635 and 1642; and it is probable that the one was the father and the other the son.

The letters throughout show the varied orthography of the period, when even proper names, as well as other words, were written in a great degree on phonetic principles. It is no unusual thing to find a man's own signature in several forms, or to find his name given in two or three ways in the same document. Mr. Baines, in that part of his History of Lancashire which refers to this town, gives nearly forty forms of the word Liverpool (IV. 184); yet that which he quotes as the current one of the time of Charles II. does not once occur in these letters. A great many other forms † do occur, however, some of them as old as the time of Henry IV. and Henry VIII.

Several of the seals are in perfect preservation, showing the arms of Monmouth, Ashurst, Kirkby, Greenhaigh, Worden, Bradshaigh, and Otway. The crests only of Leigh and Shakerley are given. Sir George Lane impales his arms with those of his first wife Brabazon; and Lady Southampton's seal does not show that she has been married twice. The Mayor of Liverpool seals one of his letters with a castle, another is impressed with a watch key. The quarterings on the seal of Wharton show that he was of the family of Wingate Grange and Offerton, County Durham, descended from the Whartons of Kirkby-Thore, in Westmoreland.

* No. XXVIII.

† Leirpool[tonians]; Leirpoole; Leuerpoole; Leverpoole; li^rpool; Li^rpoole; Liuarpoole; Liuerpoole; Liurpoole; liu^rpoole; Liverpol[dons]; Liverpoole; liverpoole.

SECOND MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 15th December, 1853.

PETER R. McQUIE, Esq., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of two Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected:—

Thomas Worthington Barlow, F.L.S., St. James's Chambers, Manchester.

Arthur Bossi, 9, Rumford Place, Liverpool.

James Boardman, Sailors' Home and Aigburth.

Charles Bradbury, Salford Crescent, Manchester.

David Buxton, 52, Oxford Street, Liverpool.

Augustus W. Franks, M.A., F.S.A., British Museum, London.

The Rev. Thomas Gardner, Stanley, Liverpool.

The Rev. Charles J. Hamilton, Hemingford Terrace, Birkenhead.

Wm. Henry Lace, 1, Union Court, Castle Street, and Beaconsfield, Woolton.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the Table:—

From the *Society*. Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. vi.
for 1853.

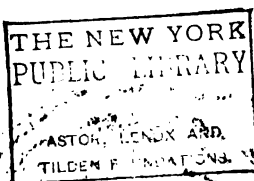
From the *Author*. Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iii., part 2, by
Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A.

From the *Editor*. The "Fleetwood Papers," forming part of
the Camden Society's series, and "Services
and Charges of William Lord Grey, of
Wilton," in the same series, edited by Sir
Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart.

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THE ABOVE ARE FROM THE IMPORTANT SELECTION OF NELSON'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH LADY HAMILTON
IN THE AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION OF

JOSEPH MAYER ESQR F.S.A.
LIVERPOOL.

Ashbee & Dargavelld 10th Bedford St. Great Garden London

From J. A. Picton, F.S.A., Report of the Library and Museum Committee of the Town Council, October, 1858.

From the Rev. Peter Steel Dale, Tranmere. A collection of copper penny and halfpenny tokens of the last century, eighty-two in number.

From Mr. Stonehouse. An elegant paper knife, made from a portion of the wood of Prince Rupert's cottage, having on the handle a picture of the cottage and a suitable inscription. Also a copper token, having the head of Charles Roe, and bearing date 1758.

In presenting also a brass rubbing from Walton Church, Mr. Stonehouse read a copy of the will of Thomas Berri, a benefactor to Walton, Bootle, &c. The rubbing contains the date 1586. At the dexterside is a full length portrait of Mr. Berri; and the matter of the inscription consists of twelve lines of a rude descriptive acrostic.

Mr. John Clements exhibited a very curious pair of ancient shoe buckles. Each had attached to it a long steel point, which projected beyond the toe of a horseman's boot, so as to act as a forward prick spur. This point was capable of retraction with a spring, so as to lie along the buckle and instep of the foot.

Mr. John Fisher, of Scotland Road, forwarded for exhibition an interesting series of coins, of the Greek and Roman periods, together with a token of the 16th century.

An elegant Wedgewood medallion of the young chevalier, was exhibited by Mr. Mayer. It had been modelled from a drawing, representing Prince Charles Edward, in the costume which he wore at Manchester, in 1745.

Mr. Mayer also laid upon the table a fac-simile of Lady Hamilton's last letter to Nelson, dated Canterbury, October 8th, 1805. It contained at top, three elegant representations of the seals used by Nelson, each of which is a portrait of that lady:—

"Dearest husband of my heart, you are all in this world to your Emma. May God send you victory, and home soon to your *Emma, Horatio, and paradise meantime*, for where you are, there it will be paradise. My own Nelson, may God prosper you and preserve you, for the sake of your affectionate

EMMA."

Mr. Mayer exhibited two drawings of the head of a stone cross, recently discovered by Mr. Barnett, during some excavations at Hilbre Island. The portion already discovered was found about three months ago. The material is the new red sandstone of the district, and the form is that of

the usual four-armed type, with zig-zag ornaments, combined with the fret-work usually found on Runic and Saxon crosses.

Mr. McQuie shewed to the members a copy of the "Scot's Magazine," vol. i., 1739, which in age and standing somewhat resembles the Gentleman's Magazine in this country.

Mr. Whitehead exhibited two small volumes, one of which, a modern German book, was interesting, from the fact that it contained an autograph of Baron Humboldt, written in presenting it to a friend in peculiar circumstances. The other was a treatise on the curious subject of Emblems, and was dated 1634.

Mr. Stonehouse exhibited a curious nodule of stone, with part of the matrix or concavity in which it had been found. It was taken from one of our street flags, and is common in the kind known as Scotch flags.

Mr. Mayer, who had recently returned from a visit to St. Albans, unfolded and exhibited a rubbing of the celebrated brass in St. Albans' Abbey. It is one of the very largest in England, being nine feet three inches long and six feet three inches broad. It was executed in memory of Thomas de Mare, Abbot, about 1360, and is supposed to be of Flemish workmanship. The whole space is covered with elaborate engravings; and the abbot stands under a canopy richly decorated, bearing the pastoral staff with an agnus dei. The canopy contains a series of niches, in which are representations of the deity, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and others of the apostles. The marginal inscription, in Lombardic letters, is unfinished, indicating that the brass was executed to order before his death, and never finished afterwards. "Hic jacet dominus Thomas, quondam Abbas hujus Monasterii, —."

In illustration of Dr. Bell's paper to be read, Dr. Hume laid upon the table a large number of reprints from old chronicles; the "Monumenta Historica Britannica;" Mr. Mayer's edition of *Sprott's Chronicle*, printed by the anastatic process, &c.

In illustration of Dr. Kendrick's paper, Dr. Kendrick himself exhibited a portion of the ancient banner said to have been borne by the Loyal Warrington Volunteers, in 1798. A volume was also sent for exhibition, by Benjamin Pierpoint, Esq., of Warrington, representing in eighty-seven coloured plates, the infantry and cavalry volunteers of London and the neighbourhood, with suitable letter-press, by T. Rowlandson. A chart on the same subject, was forwarded by Mr. Robert Shute, whose father had raised and supported a company at Crediton, in Devon. It showed the strength of the entire island of Great Britain, arranged in shires, with the dresses and the names of the commanding officers respectively.

A letter was read from Mr. Boardman, of Aigburth, containing the following extract from the journal of Mr. Matthew Nicholson, under date 1793, respecting the Polish patriot Prince Adam Czartoriski, who after more than half-a-century, has recently verified the predictions of his ability and public spirit:—

"I had the honour to breakfast here [Glasgow,] on a former tour, 1791, with Prince Czartoriski, a young Polish nobleman, and the Princess his mother, with the Chevaliers D'Oraison, Huyler, &c., in their suite. I had met the Prince a little while before, on visits at Liverpool, [at Mr. Roscoe's Dr. Currie's, and Mr. Rathbone's,] and here he welcomed me with the greatest affability as an old acquaintance. M. D'Oraison accompanied me to the play-house, where we found the Prince not in the slips or balconies, but in the centre of the pit, in the company of a venerable professor of the college. He was only about twenty years of age, but was very manly, and had imbibed the most enlarged ideas of freedom. Often have I lamented for him, under the hard fate of his country. If it can retain any privileges, it must owe them to such characters: and should it regain its independence, he may yet be its Washington."

Major-General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, vice-president, forwarded four curious documents for exhibition. The first was a bond executed by William Pelham, of Terington, in the county of Northampton, dated 23rd June, 1584. The next was an agreement respecting the fishing of Whittlesea Mere and other lakes in the neighbourhood, made between Sir Walter Myldmay, Knight, and Thomas Skynner, "servaunt and fisherman unto the same," dated 8th October, 1587. The third and fourth were servants' letters; one of which, dated May 17th, 1794, contained a most extraordinary budget of private scandal, the cook complaining of the butler; the other, of March 16th, 1802, being a most singular specimen of grandiloquent writing. A letter having been intercepted, the writer of the latter says:—

"The reason I did not write to you before was, I received not that letter which you sent by way of home, therefore you must needs know where the obstruction of our correspondence lay. However anxious their oppilative minds may be, will not require much indigitation; but they, thinking you knew not my address, it would be the only means to deprive our contumelious intercourse, which they hoped to intervert. But I should not wish them to carry their computable design into such a conglomeration, for fear it should burst, and they fall under the necessity of a surrender. I speak from simple reason, not from any voluntary blindness; but I hate such refutation, and can retaliate upon their licentious morality. Were they to write to me, if 'twas only a little logically, it might be somewhat pleasant, rather than treat me with silent contempt. But, above all, to put an embargo on those who are willing to intercourse with me, without any false impressions or prejudicial correspondence; but I do not wish to dwell upon that subject, for fear something might turn out abusive to my feelings."

PAPERS.

I.—SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LOYAL WARRINGTON VOLUNTEERS OF 1798.

*By James Kendrick, M.D.**"Pro Rege et Patria."**For King and Country.*

The subject of the following paper would perhaps have been more in unison with our feelings, in the past than in the present December, for then the mind of every Briton mistrusted, and even prejudged, the actions of him who for the present rules the destinies of France; little dreaming that at the present moment, the allied fleets of England and France would be riding side by side in the Euxine Sea, in mutual resistance of a common foe, the wilful disturber of the peace of Europe.

But in the spring of the year 1798, it was no fancied, nor even distant danger of invasion, which roused the martial spirit of the loyal men of England to embody themselves, as their name implied, in Volunteer Regiments, for the defence of this country against foreign aggression, and for the suppression of internal disloyalty, no worse a foe.

At this time, (the spring of 1798,) the sanguinary insurrection in Ireland was on the point of breaking forth, and as if to court the attack of a hostile invader, even England herself was distracted with the plots of seditious and designing men. The rampant malice of the French Directory had mustered on the sands of Boulogne an army of 75,000 men, to which they had insolently assigned the title of "the Army of England," placing at its head the all-victorious conqueror of Italy, General Buonaparte.

On this side the Channel, men of all parties, and of every rank, united in a common bond for the protection of the Sovereign and the Laws. In London alone, upwards of 12,000 gentlemen and tradesmen joined in *Volunteer Corps* to resist the foreign invader, and to subvert internal disaffection. These have had their historian and illustrator in Mr. Ackermann, of the Strand; * but, so far as I know, no provincial corps has

* *Loyal Volunteers of London and Environs*, by R. Ackermann, 87 col. pl., London, 1799.

been thought worthy of either; and although I am not so credulously bold as to affirm, as did the *Loyal Warrington Volunteers*, that the withdrawal of the French army of invasion from Boulogne, and its mission to the conquest of Egypt, was the immediate and direct consequence of the determined appearance which they, (*the Warrington Volunteers*,) displayed at their first muster, yet we must remember that they formed a portion of that loyal band, at whose rising, Buonaparte himself acknowledged that it would be madness to invade England; for were he to win one battle on its coast, a second in the interior, with a population armed and loyal as were the English, would at once annihilate his army, were it twenty times ten thousand.

The *Loyal Warrington Volunteers*, were the second corps embodied in this county—the first being that of Lancaster, which had been raised in the previous year; they also enjoyed the honourable distinction of costing nothing to the government of the country, each volunteer providing himself with arms, accoutrements, clothing, and provisions; and thirdly, laying aside all the distinctions of private life, the shop-keepers, professional men, and clergy took their places indiscriminately in the ranks, actuated by one common ardour, equally submissive to one authority, each vieing with the other only in his endeavours to become the better soldier. To the honour of the *privates* of this loyal corps it may be recorded, that one had then, and still more thereafter, signalized himself as a poet of a high order, and before his death had accumulated a classic library, which as the work of a private individual, is unsurpassed in the north of England; the son of a second, besides distinguishing himself in the path of literature, has twice filled the office of chief magistrate in his native town, and even now proffers the munificent sum of £5000 towards its religious improvement; a third, my own father, after a life of active benevolence and usefulness, died ripe in years and rich in honour; whilst a fourth, whose name for miles round his residence, is synonymous with English loyalty and hospitality, still survives, and with unabated zeal for England and her sovereign, protests that, although disabled in his left hand, he would still fight a hostile Frenchman, *could he only catch him in a saw-pit*.

So far as I can discover, the corps of *Warrington Volunteers* owed its origin to no individual patriot, and it is probable, that where all were alike loyal, it arose from the simultaneous wish of the townsmen. The

population of Warrington in 1798, barely numbered 11,000, and it is a creditable fact, that at the first muster of the corps, its numbers amounted to nearly 160. Eventually the regiment consisted of 180. Its affairs were managed by a committee of the officers, and the command vested in Edward Dakin, Esquire, of Warrington, with the rank and title of captain-commandant. I have fortunately been able to recover the muster-roll of this honourable corps, but it will here suffice to say, that the captains were Thomas Pemberton, James Nicholson, and James Leigh, Esquires; the lieutenants, Thomas Skitt, Edward Greenall, and Peter Dutton; with Thomas Claughton and Joseph Lee, ensigns.

As the volunteer without his uniform would have been no better than his more timid neighbour, I may be allowed to describe in full this very essential part of his composition. The coat of the *Loyal Warrington Volunteer*, was the "old Windsor uniform," blue, trimmed with white, the collar and facings, scarlet; the buttons, round and gilt, with a crown and L.W.V. in cypher. This predominance of blue colour in the costume, gave rise to the *soubriquet* of the regiment, which was thence termed the "Blueback."* The waistcoat and pantaloons were white, the latter fitting tightly to the figure, with half-gaiters of black cloth. The head-covering was the common round hat of the time, surmounted and disfigured by an enormous brown bear-skin cover; on the left side a black cockade, and springing therefrom, a white military feather, tipped with red. The cross-belts were of white leather, with an oval breastplate, bearing the letters L.W.V. in Roman capitals. On the cartouche-box, a bugle.

For some weeks before any public parade was ventured upon, a two hours private drill was held at six o'clock in the morning, on three days in the week, in the Old Assembly Room in Golden Square, once the gay scene of the aristocratic and far-famed Warrington assemblies. At one of these early drills, a circumstance occurred which afforded a practical illustration of the ready loyalty which inspired the Warrington Volunteers. Government had received private but certain information that the Irish insurrection was fully ripe, and the day of general rising fixed upon. Its emissaries were busy even in England, and France was ready to aid it by a descent upon the coast. In this strait, a letter was received from the

* The Blueback is a local name for the common Fieldfare. The volunteers of '98 retaliated upon their successors, the volunteers of 1863, by designating them the "Robin Redbreasts," in allusion to their *scarlet* uniform.



THE LOYAL WARRINGTON VOLUNTEER, OF 1798 .

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Lord Lieutenant of the county, wishing to know whether the Volunteers were willing to extend their protection to the county for five miles round Warrington, instead of restricting their duties to the defence of the town only, as at first contemplated. It was judged right and fair to consult the wishes of the privates of the corps, and a chalked line being drawn upon the floor of the ball-room, the letter was read, and every man willing to aid the Lord Lieutenant was desired to step across it. A moment's pause ensued, for the danger would be thereby more than doubled,—but in the next moment, private James Ashton, of the Light Company, stepped over the line, and waving his hat, cried, “come along, lads, death or glory!” To a man the privates followed. Honour be to him—he still lives amongst us—perhaps better known amongst his fellow townsmen as “*Old Death or Glory*,” than by his simple patronymic of James Ashton.

Now and then, indeed, the spirit of loyalty became exuberant. “Captain,” said Paul Greenwood in breathless haste one day, “I heard a man cursing the king just now; should I have run him through?” “No, sir,” said his ready-witted captain, “you should only have *s(e)cured* him.” Rather a dangerous pun, by the way, for the difference between *securing* and *skeuering* a man is the mere elision of a letter, and we shall all agree that the difference is *nil* between *skeuering* and *running him through*.

The first public muster of the *Loyal Warrington Volunteers* took place on the 30th of April, 1798, at the outskirts of the town, on the precise spot now occupied by the district church of St. Paul. The number of Volunteers gradually increased to 180, the greatest strength which the regiment at any time attained. In compliance with military usage, the corps consisted of a Grenadier, Centre, and Light Company, and the same spirit of mischief which designated it the “Blueback” regiment, extended to its several companies, the 1st or Grenadier company being nicknamed the “*Heavenly*” company, as I suppose from its towering stature; the 2nd, the “*Maltouts*,” from its members firing so badly; and the 3rd, the “*Roast Beef*” company, from the jolly fellows who composed it.

For a short time the parade-ground was removed to Cockhedge, the ancient *Cocagium*, a waste piece of land in the immediate vicinity of the town; but eventually and permanently, a field on the south side of the town, on the banks of the Mersey, known as Harts'-Head Meadow, in Arpley, was selected. And here, as the summer of '98 advanced and wore

on, congregated in the early morning, the wives, children, and sweethearts of the volunteer heroes. Ladies, too, assembled here, the *élites* of Warrington and its neighbourhood, the Egertons, the Bovers, the Pattens, the Turners, the Herons, the Parrs, the Stantons, and the Blackburnes, sanctioning with their presence, and inspiring by their smiles, the generous defenders of their country.

And here, too, on Friday the 14th of September, 1798, the ceremony of presenting colours to the regiment took place, of which we are fortunate in possessing the description of an eye witness, which I shall so far trespass as to read in full.

"Thursday, September 20th, 1798. *Loyal Warrington Volunteers.* This respectable corps was presented with an elegant pair of colours '*pro Rege et Patria*,' on Friday last, by Mrs. Parr, the lady of the worthy banker of that name. The gentlemen of the corps assembled at nine in the morning, and proceeded from the parade to church, where an excellent sermon was preached by the Rev. Daniel Mathias, the chaplain. The text was taken from Judges, chap. v., ver. 1, 2. 'Then sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam on that day, saying, Praise ye the Lord for the avenging of Israel, when the people willingly offered themselves.' The subject is certainly very appropriate to the occasion, nor was there less judgment displayed in elucidating and applying, than in selecting it. We could have wished that the admirable prayer which was used at the consecration of the banner had been kept distinct from the sermon, as the altar seems the fittest place for so sacred a dedication. From the church, the corps marched to a larger field adjoining the parade-ground, and being drawn up to form three sides of a square, the banners were presented by Mrs. Parr.

"She took the silken prize, and with a smile,
(The loyal troop attentive all the while,)
Thus spoke. 'Accept this gift, ye social band,
Nor less esteem it from a female hand;
Beneath its blaze our sacred rights maintain,
Nor let dishonour tinge it with a stain;
Remember still—they fight in virtue's cause,
Who guard their king, their liberty, and laws.'
This said a plaudit roam'd the air at large,
For there was inspiration with the charge."

"The colours were received from the lady by Captain-commandant Dakin, who in very handsome terms thanked the fair donor for the high honour she had that day conferred on him and his brave associates, and assured her that the standards would be valued as a sacred depository, around which loyalty and patriotism would ever be found, and that whatever might happen in our contest with a ruthless foe, 'they would never be deserted.' The corps then went through the different evolutions with great skill and wonderful exactness, very much to the satisfaction of a numerous concourse of spectators. The whole concluded with a grand royal salute.

"When we consider the very short time this loyal body of men has taken up arms, we think it but bare justice to observe that Lieutenant Douglas, of the 58th, who has the training of them, is entitled to very high praise.

"The ground was kept by Sir William Gerrard's Volunteer Cavalry, a very fine body of men, who maintained very good order by means of the old military civility, much better than if they had adopted the too common behaviour of young soldiers. From the field the corps proceeded to the Assembly Rooms, where an excellent dinner was provided, every heart beating high, and impelled by one general sentiment of loyalty. The day was concluded with that exhilarating festivity, which as it brings us nearer to each other, is not only allowable but laudable. We were particularly struck with the effect arising from an excellent band of music, striking up, 'Croppies lie down,' so soon as 'the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and success to his measures' was given from the chair. 'Major Earle and the Liverpool Volunteers' (the former of whom honoured the corps with his presence,) were drunk with three times three, and thunders of applause. May the same unanimity, zeal, and loyalty, which characterized this day—a day on which the heavens seemed to smile, prevail throughout the kingdom, and then we may rather court than dread an invasion from the enemy."

I have been thus diffuse in describing the presentation of colours to the Warrington Volunteers, as they will else be undeservedly forgotten. When the regiment was disbanded in the year 1801, on the delusive Peace of Amiens, the colours were placed over the altar in the parish church, and here they waved or rather swung for a quarter of a century, when a new generation had arisen, which laughed at the fear of invasion, *for Waterloo had settled that*. The old "Blueback" banners disappeared, for they were considered inappropriate to the place; but two years ago a tattered piece was brought to me, and I deem it worth preserving, as what our facetious friend "*Punch*" would term, "a fragment of a rather glorious old rag."

A soldier's life is proverbially one of sunshine and sorrow, and so it was with our Volunteer heroes. On the 10th of October, 1798, died James Leigh, Esquire, captain of the Light Company, a gentleman deservedly respected in private life, and valuable to the newly-raised corps as a zealous and efficient officer. The melancholy duty devolved upon the regiment of following his remains to the family vault at Lymm, in Cheshire, and there, after depositing his mortal remains, of firing three vollies over the grave of their departed comrade.

Again a change, for on the 26th of the following November, the whole regiment of Warrington Volunteers marched to Garswood, the seat of Sir

William Gerrard, near Ashton in Mackerfield, for the purpose of reciprocating, on the occasion of his corps of Volunteer Cavalry receiving their colours, the kind office which they had performed so well at Warrington on the memorable 14th of September previous. But far different was the aspect of the heavens. A day of incessant rain rendered the trampled ground a perfect quagmire; and if the outward man was wetted, so also was the inner man, for the strong ale and punch of Garswood were poured out as freely and gratuitously as the rain that day. Notwithstanding the admonitions of Captain Pemberton, who from his customary sobriety was known amongst the men as *Captain Drinkwater*, there was at the close of the field day a lamentable return of the disabled and missing. Very few of the privates, and report says of the officers, too, could return a-foot, and in marching order to Warrington that night. My informant, who was one of these few, says with singular *naïveté*, "on reaching Warrington we marched straight to Captain Dakin's, to *see if the colours had come home*." As if, forsooth, they could walk home of themselves.

Early in the following year, the regiment was reviewed by General Oliver Nicolls, the inspecting field-officer of the district. The day was fine, and everything else propitious; and although the General at the close of the evolutions complimented the corps on their steadiness under arms, and their general soldierly bearing, yet it was rumoured afterwards that the sentries at the entrance of the ground, who had unfortunately been selected from the "Maltouts" company, caused the veteran's cheek to pale, by *presenting* the muzzles of their clumsy firelocks at his person, on the order to salute him by *presenting arms*.

Perhaps the most formidable service in which the Warrington Volunteers were called upon to engage, was the suppression of a riot in the town in the year 1799, occasioned by a party of Irish rebels,—who had saved themselves from being shot as traitors by enlisting in His Majesty's service,—overpowering the escort who had them in charge, and actually breaking the sword of the commanding-officer over his head. This serious *fracas* took place at the lower end of Bridge Street, and was afterwards known as the "Battle of the Bridge." At this time even black murder itself could be atoned for by enlisting in one of the "condemned regiments;" and we might hence expect a certain feeling of anxiety on the part of the relatives of the Volunteers, but certainly not to the extent shown by the wife of

Joshua Fletcher, of the Grenadier company, who as she handed him his cumbersome hat, and gave him a parting kiss, said; "*now Joshua, as soon as ever they begin to be rough, do thee run home again as fast as thee can.*"

But smile not to yourselves, gentlemen of Liverpool, nor deem the Volunteers of Warrington less valorous than your own ancestors, for thus and thus runs a tale amongst us. Fifty years before the time of which I have been hitherto treating, namely, in the famous '45, Charles Edward, the Pretender, was on his route from Scotland, and had reached Preston, with the intention of crossing the Mersey at Warrington Bridge. To arrest, or at least to divert his progress, the Earl of Cholmondeley, commander of the district, ordered the demolition or dismantling of the bridge, and either from scarcity of workmen, or his suspicion of the many Jacobites at Warrington, commissioned a party of the Liverpool Blues to effect it for us. Early in a morning, therefore, towards the end of November, the trusty Blues set out from Liverpool, and I presume took the route of Childwall; for the darkest shades of night found them weary and straggling on Penketh Common, two miles short of Warrington. Suddenly the ears of the tired soldiers were pierced with horrid shrieks and most dismal screams, issuing from the very depths of the darkness. The command to halt and form close column was obeyed as if by magic. Grenadiers were ordered to the front, and scouts sent in advance with instructions to be cautious, and return quickly. In their absence, the suspense increased to agony, for the shrieks redoubled in violence, and could only proceed from some quiet village, surprised and pillaged by the expected rebels. Each man looked suspiciously at his neighbour, perhaps expecting to see him converted into a raw-boned Highlander, with his dirk pointed at his throat. But speedily the scouts returned, and then how great the change. They reported that these hideous screams proceeded from a flock of harmless *geese*, which had been disturbed from their quiet sleep on the Common, and were already dispersing in all directions. No sooner said than chase was given to the retreating enemy. Grenadiers and Light-company were mingled together in the scramble, and each man, fixing his bayonet, *secured** his goose, and roasted it for supper that night in a house still standing at the foot of Warrington Bridge.

Here I bring to a close my account of the "Old Blueback"; but not

* Skewered?—*Printer's Devil.*

without a feeling of doubt that his exploits were so devoid of *blood*-shed that they called for no such deluge of *ink*-shed. Be this as it may, let us at least never forget, and let us teach our children to remember, that if we were spared the horrors of war and conquest on our own soil, we owe this immunity, under Providence, to the loyalty and patriotism of their grandfathers, the *British Volunteers*. Even the great Napoleon himself declared that in 1798, and again in 1803, the British Volunteers alone prevented his conquest of this happy country. We ourselves, if not less valiant than our ancestors, are at least "*Dii minorum dierum*," heroes of punier times; for on our late fear of French invasion, Liverpool produced no second John Bolton to raise and maintain his regiment of Volunteer Cavalry, nor with all her increase of wealth did she pour seventeen thousand pounds into the national treasury. Remembering these things, then, let us be "a little blind" to the faults or failings of the old Volunteers. Teetotalism and Vegetarianism are now so rife amongst us, that some will turn with distaste from the bare mention of the *Garnwood ale* and the *roast goose* of Penketh. But refined and polished as we deem ourselves, when compared with our ancestors of fifty years ago, of one thing I feel certain, namely, that we may derive a useful lesson from the Volunteers of '98 in the practice of three sterling virtues—virtues, too, which we are prone to consider peculiarly British—*Loyalty, Patriotism, and Good-Fellowship*.

II.—A SYNOPTICAL VIEW OF THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES—EARLIEST AND MEDIÆVAL—ON BRITISH HISTORY.

By William Bell, Phil. Dr.

In the general complaint of the want of learning or research, in the so-called dark ages, I am not inclined to concur. Though the Mythologies of the classic writers of those times must have been looked upon by the cloistered student as the chronicles of demons; their poems and glorifications of Venus, Jupiter, and Apollo, as the praises of the evil one; and the philosophical investigations of Cicero, Plutarch, or Seneca as foolishness and fiction; yet it is to the care and transcription of these students that we owe the preservation and perpetuity of most of the great works of those master minds of former ages. It is more especially that I, as a Briton, feel grateful,

(and all Britons with me ought to feel grateful) to the cowled scribes and writers of those times, for the preservation of the Annals of our Country and of the glorious and noble actions of our forefathers; in the truthful and comprehensive records which they have left us. There is a succession of annalists from the earliest periods, beyond what any other country can produce; full, precise, and connected. It is therefore the more to be regretted, that their collective publication in the "*Monumenta Historica Britannica*" should have been stopped almost at its outset and at the close of the first volume, from the enormous cost of its production. If report speak truly, ten thousand pounds were expended upon it; a sum which must have necessarily appalled the most liberal friend of science and literature in the Senate, at the prospective enormity in expense which the entirety of such a work offered, when only a small portion was so costly.

A work which I can scarcely call a rival, (for rivalry can seldom be admitted in science,) the "*Monumenta Historica Germanica*" has been now some years in progress on the Continent,—under the direction of Hofrath Dr. Pertz, Head of the Royal Library at Berlin, and no material sublevation from any government,—it has already progressed to its ninth folio Volume, with every material illustration and great typographical beauty. For the succeeding one, Dr. Pertz has lately been on a visit of research to our Libraries. I cannot say to what number of volumes the work may extend; but to judge from the completeness of the progress hitherto, the twentieth will hardly include the whole series of writers originally contemplated.

To give some succinct and general view of what such a British collection should embrace, will be the object of the following pages. I can only express my regret that my leisure and other necessary occupations would not allow a more elaborate biographical or critical comment upon each writer.

There have appeared, at various periods, partial collections of our early Historians. The oldest are by that friend to our national literature, Archbishop Parker, under the title "*Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores Vetustiores et Precipui*," Lugd. Bat. 1587. fol.; the same prelate having preceded it in 1570, by Matthew of Westminster; in 1571, by the Annals of Roger of Wendover, under its then title of the continuator, Matthew of Paris; and also in 1574, by Walsingham, and Asser's Life of Alfred, in Anglo-Saxon printed with the true types. The Archbishop was succeeded by Sir Henry

Saville, in his *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam Præcipui*, London, 1596, Francofurti, 1601, fol. This collection embraces the three principal works of William of Malmesbury, and the chronicles of Henry of Huntingdon, of Roger of Hovedon, of Æthelweard and Abbot Ingulphus. It is a valuable work, but if edited with greater care, the verbatim repetition of Huntingdon, printed in Hovedon might have given room for more valuable matter. Our renowned Camden was fully alive to the importance of the labours of his predecessors in British History, and edited "*Anglica Normannica Hibernica Cambrica a veteribus Scripta*. Francofurti, 1603, folio. It contains Asser's Life of Alfred, not very correctly edited, William of Jumieges in Normandy, Walsingham's Chronicle with the Hypodigma Neustriæ which is unnecessary as contained in the foregoing; it also embraces the Itinerary of Giraldus Cambrensis. It is however a curious proof of the little estimation of the founder of our Archæology, or of these authors, that the first edition of this volume should have proceeded from the press of a printer at Frankfort on the Maine.

It was, too, only after an interval of fifty years from this period, that the SAXON CHRONICLE, after Bede,—the most important monument of our national history, and the source whence most of the preceding writers drew their relations,—could see the light.

For the early and Anglo-Saxon periods, Roger Twysden's, "*Historia Anglicana Scriptores decem*," London, 1652, folio, is of less value. Simeon of Durham helps us often to supply the deficiencies of Florence of Worcester, and gives occasionally independent facts; but its most valuable contents are the genealogies of the British Kings by the Abbot of Rievaulx, and his Life of Edward the Confessor. The single volume published by Dr. Fell, at Oxford, "*Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum, Tomus primus*," Oxon, 1684, is of greater value: it usually, but erroneously, goes under the name of Dr. Gale, who published a similar work. Dr. Fell's is valuable for a more correct text of Ingulphus, as well as for the history of Peter of Blois, and the Melrose Chronicle.

Dr. Gale's work is more comprehensive, under the title of "*Historia Britannica Saxonica Anglo-Danica Scriptores quindecim; opera* Thomas Gale, D.D.," Oxon. 1691, folio. This volume containing the older historians, Gildas, Nennius, Eddius, &c., is called the first; but the second volume, with the later writers, appeared in 1687.

If we except the "ANGLIA SACRA," solely devoted to ecclesiastical writers and matters, we have no subsequent collections of any moment. Hearne's publications appeared singly, and often want a careful or a critical study. A complete collection of his works is very rare.

Had we any certainty or confidence in the Welsh Traditions, or the Bardic Songs of Aneurin, Taliessin, Llywarchen, or Merdhin, we could carry our indigenous historical proofs up to a very remote period, at least to the sixth century after Christ. Those curious to consult them may refer to the "*Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales, a collection of Historical Documents, from Ancient MSS.*," 3 vol. 8vo., London, 1801-7, and Turner's Dissertation on the Antiquity of these Poems in his Anglo-Saxon History.

The first acknowledged British historian is GILDAS Cormac, or the wise, in *Liber querulus de excidio Britannia* called also *Historia*, though with little right to the title. He was born in 516 and lived long in the monastery at Malmesbury. His epistle was published in 547; his history in 560; he is quoted by Bede, Alcuin, and Lupus; and Geoffrey of Monmouth refers to another of his works which is lost, unless the *Historia Britonum* usually ascribed to Nennius is the same work. The 'editio princeps' of this author is by Polydore Vergil. Lond. 1526, 8vo.

The above *Historia Britonum* passes also under the title *Excidium Britannia*, generally ascribed to the year 688, which cannot therefore refer to Nennius a disciple of Elbod Archbishop of Gwynned. A valuable MS. of this work gives Mark the Anchorite as its author, and the year 948 as its date; which may have induced Mr. Gunn in his edition of 1819, 8vo., to publish it as "*Historia Britonum*," &c. by Mark the Hermit. Henry of Huntingdon has copied from it largely without giving either Nennius or Marcus as his authority.

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH (Galfridus ap Arthur) Bishop of St. Asaph, was born in 1152; but his work written in the purest latinity of his age, and with all the order and method of the classical writers, gave such a tone and impulse to later chroniclers, that he may well occupy the next place. The earliest portions of all succeeding writers are but repetitions of the fables which he professed to have collected from a Breton chronicle, given him by Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, called Brut-y-Brenhined. It is customary now to decry his entire work, without considering that he certainly is sometimes corroborated very unexpectedly. Our only authority for the particulars of

the tyrant Allectus, who murdered Carausius, is contained in Eusebius,—Panegyric of Constantine, c. 15–17,—and it agrees mainly with Geoffrey's relation. His Roman proper names may all be true, but they are tacked to exaggerated or fictitious facts. The French *Roman de Brut* by Robert Wace seems an imitation of Geoffrey's romance, and of this an English translation by Layamon, a priest on Severn's Banks according to Turner, proves the interest which the English took in these Fables of their Trojan and Roman origin.

BEDÉ's great work, his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, is certainly the most perfect, and for posterity, the most important work of his century. The first twenty-two chapters of the first book are taken verbatim from Orosius, Gildas, a legend of St. Germanus, and some other sources not now ascertainable. After the introduction of Christianity into England, his authorities are the reports and accounts which he receives from Bishops, extracted from their registers, and even from the papal archives. The work commences from the time of the invasion of Julius Cæsar, and is finished but three years before the death of its author, in 734. Amongst his minor Works may be mentioned an interesting *Life of St. Cuthbert*, and his *History of the Monastery of Monk Wearmouth*. His *Rationale Temporum* contains some chronological facts of British History, which were copied by Paulus Diaconus in his History of the Longobardi, and by other later historians.

We have already mentioned the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Commencing as usual, much beyond the limits of English History; it was continued by various writers to 1154. Its importance, not only for our own, but also for European annals, has made it and its authors the subject of great investigation, into which our limits will not permit us to enter. To a German student, the reading of the original text is not difficult; but we have a good translation by Ingram, and another equally excellent, printed only for private circulation, by Miss Gurney.

ASSER, the historian of his patron Alfred, may next be mentioned. He treats only of the period from 849 to 887, but his book also contains many particulars of the civil government and manners of the period.

Under the Danish rule, our native historians seem to have been silent; whether influenced by shame or fear we cannot now determine. Patriotism, though it may have kept them mute on the degradation of their country, gave also free and uncontradicted scope to the exaggerations of the enemy.

After the Conquest, the contemporary histories, annals, and biographies, become more copious and full of details; but their number precludes any notice except of the most interesting.

First in order must be mentioned INGULPHUS, an Englishman, born about 1031, and at the age of twenty-one, private Secretary to William the Conqueror, by whom he was subsequently promoted to the famous Monastery of Croyland. Of that he wrote a very interesting Latin History, published in Saville's collection. Contemporary particulars of the same prince were written by WILLIAM OF POICOU, his soldier priest and chaplain.

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, with the surname Baronius, as the judicious compiler of a general history, from the creation to 1118, after Christ, may be in part considered as a translator of the Saxon Chronicle. He also introduces the universal Chronicle of Marianus Scotus,—an Irishman, who died in the famous Benedictine Monastery of Fulda, 1083,—and others. He seems to have used some superior MSS., and his translation of the Anglo-Saxon is more truthful than that of any of his contemporaries.

We may here note SIMEON OF DURHAM, Precentor of the Cathedral; because he has principally taken Florence as the basis of his chronicle, which is continued to the year 1129, with some new Northumbrian and Scotch facts. These are more frequently interspersed in his *Chronicon de Gestis Regum Anglorum*. Some suppose that Simeon was only the copyist, and Turgot, prior of Durham, the real author.

EADMER, a Benedictine monk of Canterbury, who refused in 1121 the See of St. Andrews, in Scotland, because his consecration by the Archbishop of Canterbury was opposed, wrote in six books the Acts from William the Conqueror to Henry I. These were edited by Selden.

WILLIAM OF MALMSBURY, monk and librarian in that famous abbey, wrote what we now more properly call a History in opposition to the annalist form of the previous chroniclers, under the title of *De Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri quinque* to 1126, which Usher terms the best of our early historians; and which, with his latest work, *Historia novella* to 1143, was published in 2 vols. 8vo., by Thomas Duffus Hardy, for the Historic Society of London, in 1840. He was in great repute, not only at home, but abroad; and many foreign authors have copied largely from him, amongst whom may be mentioned *Albrick de Troisfontaines* and *Vincentius de Beauvais*. He also wrote *De Gestis Pontificorum Libri quinque*.

ALFRED, Abbot of the beautifully-situated Abbey of Rievaulx, in Yorkshire, collected the genealogies of the Anglo-Saxon Kings, and the life of Edward the Confessor, already mentioned; and an account of the Scottish war, finished by the battle of the Standard in 1138, all printed by Twysden. At his request, **REGINALD OF DURHAM** undertook at least one of his works.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON is almost as great a favorite amongst historians as Malmesbury. His history embraces the period from the landing of Julius Cæsar, to 1135, and is continued by others to 1154. He compiled from all his predecessors; but has not always understood the Anglo-Saxon text of the Saxon Chronicle.

WILLIAM OF NEWBURY brings his history down to 1179. Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, gives us some notices of Henry II. and Richard I. Richard of Devizes had followed Richard I. to the crusades, which he treats of largely; but one of the fullest registers of this King's deeds was published by Geoffrey de Vinesauf, and has been republished by Dr. Gale.

GERVASE OF CANTERBURY wrote a chronicle of events from 1122 to 1199, and was succeeded by Roger de Hovedon, contrary to the usual profession of our annalists, no monk but a lawyer; and whom Henry II. employed in surveying the Monasteries of the Kingdom. He continued Bede to 1202.

RALPH DE DICETO, Monk of Thetford and Dean of St. Paul's, London, in 1183, wrote an abstract of British History, principally ecclesiastical matters, which Twysden included in his collection. Walter of Coventry, though a compiler, has some important independent facts to about 1217, but his work has not yet been published. Ralph, Abbot of Coggeshall, in Essex, has in this latter respect shared the same fate in England, though Martene and Durand, in their large French collection, included his *Travels to the Holy Land* and his two other works. We are, however, happy to say that the Rev. E. L. Cutts of Coggeshall, well known for his "*Monumental Crosses*" is now passing an edition through the press, of all the works of his predecessor.

ROGER OF WENDOVER was the next great writer, and his work forms a complete History of England, from the coming of the Saxons, 445 to 1235. He was a monk of St. Albans and the Historiographer of its Order; and as he was continued by Matthew of Paris, this latter writer has generally gained the credit of the entire work, under the title "*Flores Historiarum*." Though Matthew of Paris, a monk of the same Abbey, was a universal

scholar, and a man of distinguished probity, yet he can only pass for a historian from 1235, where his predecessor finishes, to the last year of Henry III. According to Pitts he was "an elegant poet, an eloquent orator, an acute logician, a subtle philosopher, a sound divine, a celebrated historian, and—which crowned the whole—a man justly famed for the purity, integrity, innocence, and simplicity of his manners." Dr. Henry adds to this encomium on his character no less distinguishing characteristics of his skill in the fine arts as, "an exquisite sculptor in gold, silver, and other metals, and the best painter of the age in which he flourished. He was not only intimate with his own sovereign, but was courted and trusted by foreign princes, and went in 1248 to Norway by the King's desire, to restore monastic discipline in that kingdom." His work and those of Roger have been frequently reprinted. An English translation, so much wanted, is included in the Antiquarian series published by Bohn. A third monk of St. Albans, whose inmates sustain fully the character of learning and industry we have vindicated, at the outset, to their order, was William Rishanger, who succeeded Matthew in carrying on the History to near his death in 1322. His *Chronicles of the Barons' Wars* has been published by the Camden Society.

With ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER we begin the first of our rhyming chroniclers in accordance with the taste of the age, as witnessed in the numerous Metrical Romances of the period; and in accordance with which the history of Peter de Langtoft, an Augustine canon of the Priory of Bridlington, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, was turned into verse by *Robert de Brunne*. It is curious that the name and actions of the Hero of the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf, so long hidden from our British Literature, should have been known to this Author and the place of his death ascertained as Ellendoune 823.

"Ellendoune Ellendoune the land is full rede
Of the blood of *Bernwulf*, there he toke his dede."

But if St. Alban's was famous as a nurse of science it is not to be expected that the Metropolitan Seat would not enter with it into the lists for the prize of fame and literary distinction. At Canterbury, the convent of St. Augustine was anxious to obtain pre-eminence in erudition, as its founder had gained superiority of holiness; and amongst its cowed scribes, Thomas Sprott was not the least distinguished. He wrote the lives of the Abbots of his convent which would necessarily embrace nearly the eccle-

ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, since the introduction of christianity, still unpublished ; and a connected record of Sacred and Profane History, from the Creation to near his death in 1274. In 1719 Hearne published what he supposed to be fragments of this Chronicle, from an imperfect MS., in the possession of Sir Edward Dering, of Sheringham Dering, in Kent, but which certainly are those of some other author. For, by a chance worthy of the munificence and patronage of science evinced by your townsman and associate Mr. Joseph Mayer, an entire copy of Sprott's Chronicle, beautifully written and spiritedly illustrated by vignettes and numerous portraits came into his possession. I may take the merit of suggesting to its liberal proprietor, the value of its publication in a form that might constitute a pattern to the government and the public, for the editing of our national or private muniments. My proposition met with a ready approval ; and it is to the public spirit of that gentleman that an anastatic fac simile edition of the work in its entirety, and with (if the sacred history be added) nearly fifty running feet of text, of an average breadth of twelve inches, was completed. It is not for myself to estimate the worth of the fac-simile or translation ; but I can say that my view of offering an example for future editions of our historical national records, has met the approbation of some of our best historiographers and custodians of public documents. The subsequent acquisition of a large collection of Egyptian Antiquities, to add to the already extensive museum which Mr. Mayer had collected in Colquitt-street, and the more recent purchase, at a price from which the Trustees of the British Museum shrunk back, of the Rev. Bryan Faussett's spoils from upwards of five hundred Kentish and Saxon tumuli, to be illustrated and described by the archaeological pen of Mr. Roach Smith, are but reiterations of the same munificence and zeal.

The early part of the fourteenth century produced numerous chroniclers and historians, of whom we can only enumerate a few. NICOLAS TOWET, prior of the Dominicans in London. JOHN BROMPTON, abbot of Jervaulx, in Yorkshire, who finishes with 1198. Besides copying from all his predecessors he relates much matter of interest relative to the Anglo-Saxons ; this portion, however, has lost some of its interest, as we find it all in the Norman-French Chronicle of GAIMAR in Rhyme under the title "*Histoire des Engles, selon la Translacion de Maistre Geoffrey Gaimar*, from the arrival of Augustine to 1099. It shews a melancholy want of the vernacular Saxon in the Normans, a century after their arrival, that this partial Translation

of the Saxon chronicle had to be made, that they might be acquainted with the early transactions of the country which most of them were born in and inhabited. After Brompton, we come to WALTER DE HEMINGFORD, a canon regular of Gisburne, north riding. RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER, a monk of Westminster finished in 1340. RALPH HIGDEN, a Benedictine of Chester, of whose Polychronicon there are MSS. in nearly all the libraries in England. JOHN, vicar of TYNMOUTH, wrote his "*Historia Aurea*," in three vols., and a noble work on the *Acts and Miracles of English Saints* known to us only in an abstract in Capgrave's "*Nova Legenda Angliæ*. Another MATTHEW, surnamed of WESTMINSTER, wrote also a work called like his namesake's, "*The Flowers of History*" to 1307, which has been praised as written with diligence, and a scrupulous regard to truth.

Of the more advanced writers of the fourteenth century we have STEPHEN EDEN, a canon regular in Wartre, in Yorkshire, who gives fullest particulars of the unfortunate Edward II. ; and JOHN DE TROKELowe, gives us the annals of the same reign, from 1307 to 1323. WALTER DE HEMINGFORD gives us the transactions of the first three Edwards, published by Hearne. SIR THOMAS DE LA MERE, in the service of Edward II., also wrote Memoirs of the Life and Death of his ill-starred master, published in Camden's Collections. ROBERT DE AVESBURY in the title of his works, as "*The History of the Wonderful Acts of Edward III.*" has selected the most splendid portion of our ancient annals, though he finishes about 1351, nearly the date of the battle of Poitiers. An anonymous Monk of Evesham gives us many particulars of the life and reign of Richard II. We may claim the labours of SIR JOHN FROISSART, whose histories reach into the fifteenth century, though not a native Englishman, for this period ; and for its latter half, the learning of JOHN OF WHETHAMPSTEDE, the learned Abbot of St. Albans, THOMAS OF WALSHINGHAME in Norfolk, THOMAS OF OTTERBURNE, and JOHN HARDING, a northern annalist, brought up in the family of Sir Henry Percy, Shakspeare's renowned Hotspur. This latter author was born in 1378 ; as a warrior, he bore arms against the Scots, amongst whom he is said to have gone in disguise to collect chartulary evidence of the fealty due by their King to the English Suzerain. He composed annals to the reign of Edward IV. in verse, of which the best edition was given by Sir Henry Ellis.

We have in the above list, with few exceptions, given only those authors whose histories and chronicles embrace the general transactions of the king-

dom. It would have been much enlarged, had we included the names and productions of those writers who confined themselves exclusively to the transactions of their monasteries or their order; and it will not be in the scope of the present paper to pass in review those historians who after the introduction of printing or the Reformation of the Church, could multiply their works indefinitely, or carry their views and relations beyond the transactions of their own country. With Hollinshead, Sir Thomas More, Speed, Stow, and a host of others, down to Lingard, Macauley, and Alison, you are all acquainted; and but few, and those of little consequence, remain to fill the gap from Harding to where this later series commences. A mere recital of their names will suffice.

NICHOLAS MONTACUTE, some time Master of Eton College, ROGER ALLEN of the White Friars, London, a royal genealogist; and JOHN ROUS, commonly called the Antiquary of Warwick, who made large foreign collections and wrote a regal history of England, published by Hearne. JOHN BLACKBURN, a Monk of the Charter House, wrote the Life and Actions of the canonised Henry VI. and some annals of the same reign were written by THOMAS OF WALSINGHAM, and by a Monk of Windsor.

Having thus brought this hasty sketch, undertaken at very short notice, to a conclusion, I have only to repeat my regret that want of leisure and imperious occupations did not permit a more enlarged view to be taken, and a more careful criticism of the different writers to be made. A Catalogue Raisonée of our Historians is a great desideratum in our literature; and it would give me great pleasure if the present meagre outline should inspire some of the learned and literary members of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, with the determination to undertake it.

THIRD MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 12th January, 1854.

JOHN POOLE, Esq., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of two Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected Members of the Society:—

John Clements, Colquitt Street, Liverpool.

William Harrison, Galligreaves House, Blackburn.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

From the *Society*.

Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, deuxieme serie, tom. 2, Amiens, 1853; Bulletin de la Société, anne 1853, Nos. 1, 2, 3, Amiens, 1853; Programme du Concours pour la Construction du Musée Napoleon, Amiens, 1853.

From the Rev. H. Tudsbury
Turner, through the Rev.
Dr. Thom.

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the Primitive Episcopal Church, revived in Liverpool in the Year of our Redemption 1831.

From the Rev. A. Hume,
D.C.L., &c.

A large representation of the French Raft at Boulogne, prepared for the French "Army of England," and intended for the invasion of England, 1798.

From Thomas Moore, Esq.

Report of the Town's Meeting on the subject of Decimal Coinage, 28th December, 1853.

From the Writer.

Letter on the subject of the Decimal Coinage, by Samuel Richardson, Esq., December 26th, 1853.

From Jas. Boardman, Esq.

The original "Proposals for a Charity School among y^e Protestant Dissenters. Liverpool, February 4th, 1739-40."

The following articles were EXHIBITED :—

Mr. Mayer exhibited three views of the Ancient Font in Walton Church; twenty drawings of Shaw's Brow and the vicinity; illustrative of a work on Pottery in preparation for publication; and four woodcut views of Shotwick Church, Cheshire.

The following books were handed round :—A MS. volume of Precepts, Forms, &c., customary in Courts of Law; and extracts of decisions in curious Trials; exhibited by Joseph Guyton, Esq. Wilkinson's Classical Atlas; by Mr. Andrew Green.

Mr. Clements exhibited two ancient panels of oak with peculiar carving. At the request of the meeting, he promised to give a detailed description of them at some future meeting of the Society.

In illustration of the first paper to be read, the following articles were exhibited :—

By the Misses Cort;—A miniature of their father, the late Rev. Robert Cort, Incumbent of Kirkby; drawing of Kirkby Chapel, previous to 1812, by the Rev. Robert Cort; the Ancient Parsonage, used till January, 1850. By the Rev. Dr. Hume;—Separate Diocesan Maps of Lichfield and Chester, previous to 1848; St. Chad's cross emblazoned. By the Rev. Thomas Moore;—A coloured Map of England and Wales, showing both Dioceses and Counties.

A Communication was read from Mr. James Boardman, mentioning some particulars respecting the last hours of Wedgewood. It was an extract of a private letter to Mr. Bentley, from Mr. Byerley, Wedgewood's nephew, dated 8th January, 1795, announcing the details of his illness, and his death on Saturday the 4th.

PAPERS.

I.—SOME NOTES, HISTORICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL, ON THE CHAPELRY OF KIRKBY, WALTON-ON-THE-HILL, LANCASHIRE.

By the Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

Though there are nineteen different places of the name of Kirkby mentioned in Dugdale's Monasticon, yet the subject of the present remarks has not the honour to be of the number. The Kirkby of which we speak is the north-east portion of the extensive parish of Walton-on-the-Hill, and the Chapelry consists of the two townships of Kirkby and Simonswood. It is bounded by the parishes of Huyton, Prescott, Halsall, and Sefton, and is situated about half-way between Prescott, which is its post town, and Ormskirk, being about six miles from each. It is eight miles from Liverpool, in a north-easterly direction. Simonswood is on the remote side of Kirkby from Liverpool, and borders on Bickerstaffe.

The district is of a flat character, with gentle undulations, but is relieved by the low range of hills immediately adjoining, which extend from Prescott, in the direction of Ormskirk. Till within a very recent period it was a very retired country district, though in the neighbourhood of so many towns, and even within the last hundred years, must have been a dreary enough sort of place, as a considerable portion of it consisted of bog or moorland. The names Kirkby-moss, Simonswood-moss, and the neighbouring Gill-moss, Windle-moss, and Barrow-nook-moss, sufficiently indicate its former condition. Cultivation has done much to improve this state of things, and at the present time there are few purely agricultural districts which present more pleasing features; and the numerous plantations and orchards attached to the farm-houses, diversify a prospect which would otherwise possess too much sameness.

A small stream, a tributary of the Alt, and called variously Simonswood river, and Kirkby river, runs through both townships. By the darkness of its waters, it betrays its mossy origin. Trout, dace, and jack, are found in it.

Kirkby has of late become easy of access by the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway; and the Kirkby station is 5 miles from Liverpool. The railway occupies twenty-one acres of the township. The Liverpool and Leeds Canal also passes Kirkby, but includes only one acre of it.

The number of acres in Kirkby as given in the Census Returns is 3,920, and of Simonswood 2,862.

II.—POPULATION.

The population of the township at various times has been as follows :—

KIRKBY.....In 1801, males 422, females 411, total 833.

In 1811, „ 474, „ 438, „ 912.

In 1821, „ 518, „ 517, „ 1035.

In 1831, „ 607, „ 583, „ 1190.

In 1841, „ 741, „ 735, „ 1476.

In 1851, „ 773, „ 687, „ 1460.

Houses in 1811—Inhabited 138, uninhabited 1, building 0.

in 1841 „ 293, „ 3, „ 0.

in 1851 „ 235, „ 4, „ 1.

SIMONSWOOD...In 1801, males 140, females 134, total 274.

In 1811, „ 194, „ 170, „ 364.

In 1821, „ 220, „ 170, „ 390.

In 1831, „ 230, „ 181, „ 411.

In 1841, „ 267, „ 226, „ 493.

In 1851, „ 257, „ 213, „ 470.

Houses—In 1811 there were 54; in 1841, 71; and in 1851 there were 73.

It will be seen from these returns that the population of both townships had a steady increase up to 1841, but since that period a decrease. This arises, not from the fact that the population increases less rapidly at the present time, but from the fact that so many leave the neighbourhood, or send their children to settle in Liverpool; and the great diminution in the number of inhabited houses in Kirkby, being 58 in ten years, confirms the statement.

III.—ORIGIN OF THE NAMES.

Kirkby is a word of Danish origin, from “Kirkja,” Church, and “by,” a fixed residence, equivalent to the Anglo-Saxon “bidan,” to abide, whence our “abode.” The name of this township, therefore, is one of the many which prove the settlement of the Danes in Lancashire. The names

Ormskirk, Kirkdale, Formby, Crosby, and the name of the hundred itself, West Derby, are further proofs of the same statement.*

The origin of the name Simonswood is thus given by tradition:—"King John had a famous runner, who had gained the prize from all comers. He was in consequence very vain of his success, and bore himself with proportionate insolence. His fame was so well established, and report spoke of him so universally, that his name and his challenge to all England reached even the obscurity of Kirkby. A certain Simon dwelt there, and he felt a great desire to match himself with the King's runner. He at length mustered courage to go to Court, a day was fixed for the trial, and to the astonishment of all Simon proved the victor. The King was so pleased, that he offered him great advantages if he would enter his service. Simon, however, preferred his former retirement, and requested to be appointed the keeper of the forest. The boon was granted, and ever after it was known as Simon's-wood.

IV.—THE MANOR.

Kirkby is noticed in Domesday Book. We find that in "Derbei Hundret," Uctred held six manors, viz.: Rabil (Roby), Chenueslei (Knowsley), *Cherchebi* (Kirkby), Crosebi (Crosby), Magele (Maghull), and Achetun (Aughton). There were two hides, a wood two miles,† and two æries of hawks.

After Uctred, who besides what has just been mentioned held also Kirkdale, Woolton, Speke, Skelmersdale, Litherland, Lytham, Lydiate, Altcar, &c., the next proprietors of Kirkby were those mentioned in the "Testa de Nevill," or "Liber Feudorum," viz.: "Robertus de Rokeport Rogerus Gernet et Thom' de Bethum tenent quintam partem militis in Kyrkeby de decimo feodo."

Since the time of William Rufus these two townships have been held by the Molyneux family. The founder of the family, as is well known, was William de Molines, a follower of William the Conqueror, whose name

* See the papers of Messrs. Just and Thorner in vol. iv. of the Historic Society's Proceedings.

† This perhaps means or includes Simonswood. A hide was generally 120 acres, but according to Kelham, six carucates or 6000 acres make a hide between the Mersey and the Ribble.

stands the eighteenth in order on the roll of Battel Abbey.* The famous Roger de Poictou, having obtained the honour of Lancaster, gave to William de Molines the manors of Sefton, Thornton, and Kerdan (or Kirerdan), who took up his residence at Sefton, where the remains of the old family seat are yet visible, on the south side of the Church. Kirkby and Simonswood had been originally assigned to other Knights, but they came into the Molyneux family in the time of Adam de Molyneux, who married Annotta, daughter and heiress of the Gernetts of Kirkby; who had previously obtained Simonswood by a marriage with the heiress of Fitzroger of that place.

The name Simonswood occurs frequently in the "Forest Perambulations" which took place in early times, and is generally mentioned in connexion with Toxteth and Croxteth Parks.

In 1461 the tithes of these three townships were assigned to the Church of Lancaster. It would appear from the "Rot. Parl. vol. vi. p. 363," as quoted by Baines, that in the turbulent times of the wars of York and Lancaster, the Molyneuxes were deprived of their privileges for a time. This was the only trifling exception; and there are no other proprietors at the present day, if we except a very small portion held by Lord Skelmersdale and one or two others.

The following information we obtain from "Gregson's Fragments," in which is contained at full length an account of the various taxations of the County Palatine of Lancaster, derived from an original MS. written for the use of John Yates, Esq., Treasurer of the said county, May 16th, 1716. "One of these rates was the Soldiers' Lay or County Lay, the most usual either for mustering, arming, or furnishing of soldiers for the King's Majesty's wars, or of the trained bands," &c.

"At a general meeting of the Justices of Peace of the same county at Lancaster, at the Sheriff's table there, upon Wednesday night in the Assizes week, being the 11th day of August, anno regni Jacobi Angliæ etc., 22do, et Scotiæ 54to, anno Dom. 1624. The same Lay was holden to be the most fitting tax for the whole county."

"In James the First's time, the parish of Walton paid 9/ to this rate. The parish was divided into three parts, which paid alike. "Walton-cum-

* This is given on the authority of Sir George Dethick, Garter King of Arms, from Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, Archdall's edition, Dublin, 1789. On reference to the Roll, no such name is found, but it is found in an ancient Norman document, copied by John Foxe.

Fazakerly, Kirkby and Formby make the first quarter,* and pay 3/, as followeth, viz., Walton-cum-Fazakerly 1/, Kirkby 1/, Formby 1/. Darby, (sc. West Derby) maketh the 2nd quarter, and payeth 3/. Liverpool, Kirkdale, Bootle, Linacre, and Everton do make the third quarter, and pay 3/ as followeth, Liverpool $\frac{3}{4}$ parts or 2/—Kirkdale 9 parts of the other third part, which is 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; Bootle and Linacre other 9 parts thereof, 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; Everton 6 parts thereof, 3d., in all 3/."

This extract is interesting, as shewing the proportions which Kirkby and the neighbouring township paid to the County Lay more than two centuries ago; and as showing the relative importance of the townships of the parish. To us of the present generation it seems rather surprising to find Everton, Kirkdale and Bootle rated at a smaller sum than Kirkby.

The Fifteenths—which have been superseded by the Land Tax—were paid as far back as Magna Charta, being granted in return for the concessions which the King made at that time. To this tax Kirkby paid £1 16s. 4d., and for the sake of comparison may be mentioned Everton's, which was 14/, Kirkdale's 17/, and Bootle's 16/8.

With regard to the various musters of troops which took place three centuries ago, from a curious MS. part in Latin, "De Antiquitate Comit. Lancastriæ," also quoted by Gregson, we extract the following:—

"Mary, 1553—In Darby Hundred to raise 480 men: these were the commanders of them:—Edward Earl of Derby, Sir Richard Molyneux, &c. The parish of Walton supplied 86 men out of this number: Kirkby's proportion was 5 men, Liverpool's 4, Kirkdale's 2, &c."

Among the fees paid to the various officers of the Duchy about 1588, "the maister of Symondswood forest and keeper of Toxteth Park hath for his fee £2 per annum."

Early records seem to imply that Kirkby and Walton were well wooded, and that their boundaries were in consequence not easily ascertained or well observed. "In 33 Edward I., William de Waleton impleaded Robert Byroun and forty-six defendants for cutting down oak and other trees growing in Waleton, under the pretext that the townships of Waleton and Kyrkeby were united by a wood in which they had the privilege of husbote."†

Kirkby has also been ecclesiastically connected with the family of Molyneux, for the Rectory of Walton, in which it is situated, was in their gift from

* They were divisions or thirds. This expression reminds one of Dr. Barrett's curious translation, *Omnis Gallia, &c.*, "All Gaul is quartered into three halves."

† Placit. Trinit. 33 Edward I., from Baines.

1470 till 1747. At the latter date Walton passed into other hands, the head of the house of Molyneux at that time being in orders in the Church of Rome; and the patronage of Kirkby went with it. The present Lord Sefton has lately purchased the advowson of Kirkby, which thus becomes separated from Walton Parish, and the first opportunity of exercising the privilege of presentation occurred in 1850. The small endowment which existed previously has also been greatly increased by Lord Sefton, as will be seen under the head Endowment.

V.—ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The Chapel is dedicated to St. Chadd, which name was also given to "one piece of land called Chad-croft adjoining to y^e north side of y^e Chappell yard," and "belonging to the Parish of Walton." The name of St. Chadd, thus intimately connected with Kirkby, points to a period considerably before the Norman conquest, as St. Chadd flourished about the middle of the 7th century. St. Chadd or Ceadda from being Abbot of Lestingay monastery near Whitby in Yorkshire, was promoted to be Bishop of York and remained so for three years, from A.D. 663 to 666.

In the latter year on the remonstrance of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, he retired from his Bishopric and became a monk in the monastery over which he had formerly presided with the greatest piety. The subject of the remonstrance was, that at his consecration, two Bishops who kept Easter after the British manner had assisted Uini, of Winchester, though he observed it after the Roman method. His merits, however, were so conspicuous that he was shortly after consecrated in the Roman manner by Theodore, as Bishop of the Kingdom of Mercia, where he exercised his office from 667 to 670.

St. Chadd, who had been the second Bishop or Archbishop of York, was the fifth Bishop of the Mercians. Christianity was introduced into this kingdom by Oswy, king of Northumbria, when he had slain Penda, the pagan king of the Mercians. Oswy founded a Church at Lichfield in 657. This see was made archi-episcopal by Pope Adrian, at the intercession of King Offa, and comprised the dioceses of Lichfield, Hereford, Worcester, Sidnacester and Legeceastre (sc. Lincoln and Peterborough), and the country of the East Angles, including the two dioceses of Elmham and Dunwich, which form the present diocese of Norwich. To Canterbury there remained only four dioceses, viz. London, Winton, Roffen, and

Selesiensis (Chichester). Lichfield, however, remained archi-episcopal, only during the Archbishop Adulph's life time, and was subsequently subdivided into five Bishopricks. The see of Lichfield was removed after the conquest by Peter, to Chester, and by the next Bishop to Coventry, as he had set his heart upon the splendid monastery which Leofric and Godiva had built there. Hence the double name for the see, Lichfield and Coventry. The arms of the diocese are St. Chadd's cross. Lancashire was a part of Lichfield diocese till the time of the Reformation; the full extent of which may be seen from the fact that it then included portions of the present dioceses of Carlisle and Ripon.

The character of St. Chadd, when appointed to York, as given by Bede, is deserving of notice. "He travelled about, not on horseback, but after the manner of the Apostles, on foot, preaching the gospel in towns, in the open country, in cottages, villages, and castles." Theodore insisted on his riding about when he became Bishop of the Mercians. Such was the man to whom the chapel of Kirkby was dedicated.

VI—PATRONAGE AND VALUE.

The patronage was previous to the time of the present incumbent, in the hands of the Rector of Walton. The value of the living was miserably small up to about the year 1733. Before that time it seems to have consisted merely of the following items.

1. Chad-croft, which, however, has lapsed, and has not for years belonged to the chapel.

2. "One little house and orchard situate at y^e Bottom of Kirkbie Rowe and y^e Chapell yard."

3. "One p.cell of land called Priest's-croft situate in Kirkbie, (at the mill dam one customary acre.—Terrier A.D. 1789); and time out of mind held by y^e minister of y^e chapel from y^e Lord of y^e Mannour under y^e yearly rent of eightpence. This is valued at £5 per annum."

4. "Belonging also to y^e said Chappell, y^e yearly rent of eight shillings due on y^e feast of St. Martin y^e Bishop, in winter, from y^e ancient Inhabitants of y^e forest of Symondswood.—(Old inhabited houses; Terrier of 1789)."

These particulars are derived from the oldest Terrier in the chapel records, which bears date 4th of July A.D. 1686, and which was presented at the Triennial Visitation held at Wigan in the same year.

5. In addition to the above, the Terrier of A.D. 1733, adds—"The Hemp yard adjoining to the south side of the chappell ffield."

6. "Likewise 8s. yearly, part of the interest of £10 left by one Pickup, (Laurence, of Liverpool,) and which is now paid by the overseer, the stock being in his hands or rather in the Town's hands."—From the Terrier of A.D. 1789.

This Terrier says "with respect to Chad-croft, Hemp-yard and Priest's-croft the Lord of the Manor's steward objects to the legality of the claim.

7. From the Rector of Walton £22 10/.—(Terrier of 1789.)

The above may be regarded as the Curate's stipend up to A.D. 1733, as about that time the Old Parsonage house was built, in the Rev. Mr. Mount's incumbency.

8. The Parsonage.

9. "Belonging to the Curate, purchased about 21 years ago (A.D. 1768), with Queen Anne's Bounty by Lot and Benefaction, a house and out-housing both thatched, the walls part brick and part daub, with the several pieces and closes of Land lying in Bretherton, near Tarlton Bridge, about 16 statute miles distant and let by the present Curate (Mr. Gill) at the clear yearly rent of £23 2s."

10. "The interest on £200, appropriated by the Governors of the Bounty of Queen Anne, for the augmentation of the perpetual Curacy of Kirkby."

11. "The interest on £905 4s. 8d. remaining in the Parliamentary Fund Account, to the credit of, and appropriated for the augmentation of," Kirkby.

The above was the income up to A.D. 1850, and amounted to little more than £90 per annum.

12. Lord Sefton's liberal endowment of £160 per annum, charged on his estate. The present income is represented at £259, which, with the Parsonage, makes the value of the living about £300 per annum.

VII.—INCUMBENTS.

As the Registers do not go farther back than A.D. 1678, I have been able to trace the curates of this Chapelry only up to A.D. 1686.

In A.D. 1686, William Atherton. His name is signed to the first Terrier, as Curate.

In A.D. 1689, Ralph Reeve, Curate.

In A.D. 1722, William Mount.

In A.D. 1756, or thereabouts, Thomas Wilkinson.

From A.D. 1786 to 1793, John Rigby Gill, A.B., Brasenose, Oxford.

From A.D. 1793 to A.D. 1850, Robert Cort.

From 1850, Robert Henry Gray, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

Of Mr. Atherton, nothing is known but his name. He may have been the first Curate after the Restoration. The Rector of Walton in his time was Thomas Pawlett, presented by the Dowager Countess of Southampton, who was patron for that turn.

Ralph Reeve succeeded Mr. Atherton. In the register of baptisms in A.D. 1689, we find "Ann the Daug. of Ralph Reeve, Curate, born Mar. 27th; bapt. April 4th." Also in 1690, "James y^e son of Ralph Reeve, Dec. 30th." These entries fix the time of his Incumbency, but the registers do not enable us to tell when he died or ceased to be Curate, as it was not the practice for the clergymen to sign them in those days.

Mr. Mount's name, which is the first signed in the registers, is found at the bottom of the page which contains the baptisms of A.D. 1722-3. In his time and after, till the Act passed in Geo. III.'s time on the subject, the Curate signed his name at the foot of each page, the previous practice appearing to be for the Clerk or Sexton to sign his name at the end of each year. Mr. Mount built the old Parsonage House, and presented the Communion Plate, and left the interest of £20 to the poor. He resigned the Curacy of Kirkby several years before his death as the inscription on his tomb shows:—"The Rev. Mr. Wm. Mount, late Curate of Kirkby, died 22nd of April, 1765, aged 80 years." On the same stone is also "Ann, wife of William Mount, Curate of Kirkby, departed this life December 23, 1747." He was buried in St. Nicholas' Church yard, Liverpool, and his tomb is the tenth from the most westerly window on the south side.

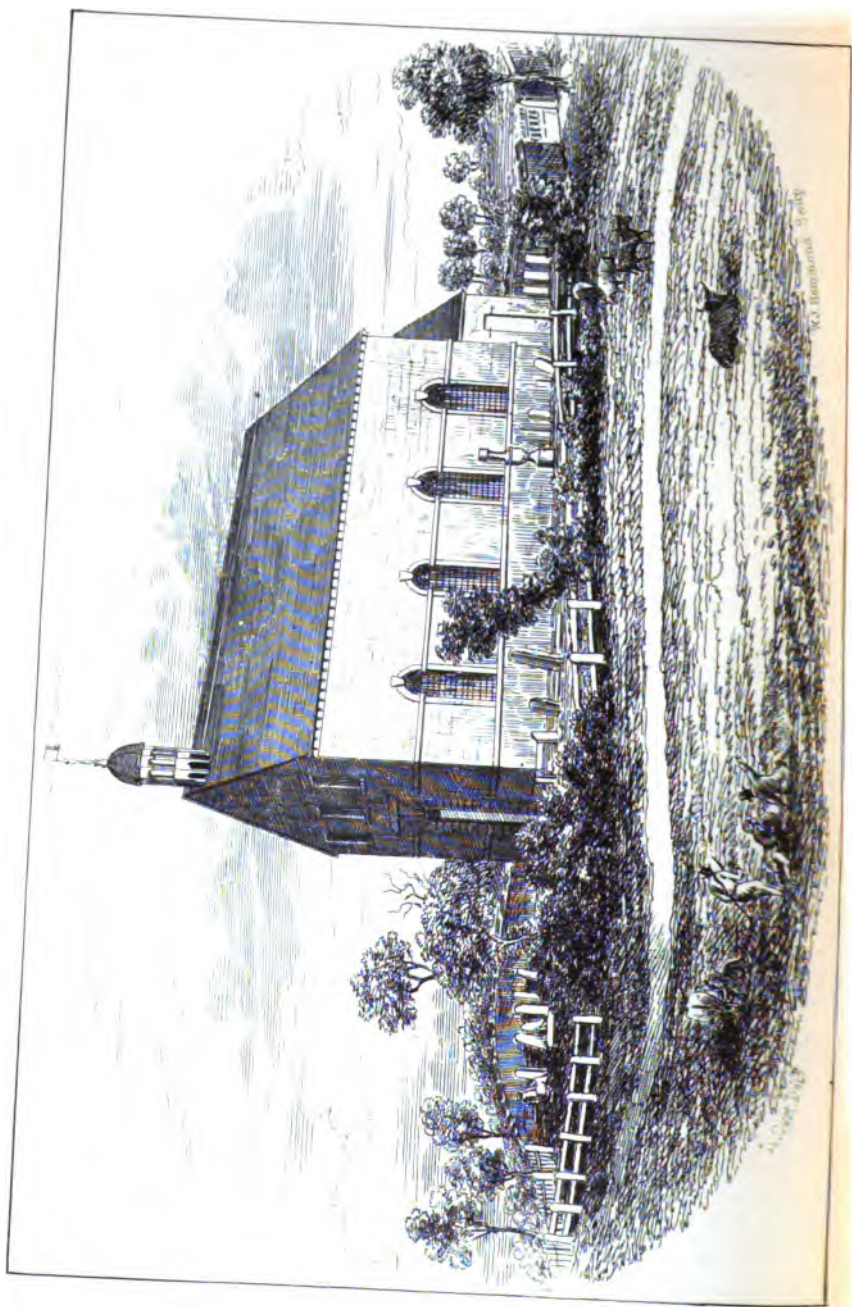
Mr. Wilkinson succeeded Mr. Mount and was minister for about thirty years. He had a strong mechanical turn of mind, and invented the gold balance which was once the only one in use, and which was extensively manufactured at Ormskirk and Prescot. It is still made at the former place. He also invented several other machines which exhibited great ingenuity. In his later years he suffered much from asthma. He died in his 65th year, on a Sunday afternoon during service, while a neighbouring clergyman was officiating for him. He expired in the porch of the parsonage and the old servant went to the chapel and proclaimed aloud, "Parson's dead," on which the congregation was immediately dismissed. He was buried in Kirkby. Besides building the present chapel, he procured the Queen Anne's Bounty.

Mr. Gill, who was for six years Curate, was the eldest son of Thomas Gill, Surgeon, of Prescot, who was the son of Robert Gill of Hale, proprietor of the Dungeon Salt Works, where his family had been settled for several generations. A Robert Gill of Hale was summoned on a jury as a freeholder, to try a cause between the crown and the lord of the manor of Hale, in the reign of Henry VI. Mr. Gill took his degree of A.B. and was ordained in the year 1777. He accepted the Curacies of Preston and Chaldron, Dorset. He removed to Kirkby in 1786, where he died 11th Sept. 1793, in the fortieth year of his age; and he was buried at Prescot. He left a widow and six children, of whom Robert Gill, Esq., of Woolton, one of our members, is the only surviving one.

Mr. Cort was born at Arkholme, near Lancaster, but from his eighth year he resided at Kirkby with Mr. Wilkinson, his maternal uncle. By him he was prepared for the ministry and sent to St. Bees. In due time he was ordained at Chester, and shortly afterwards held the perpetual cure of Formby. On the death of Mr. Gill who had succeeded his uncle at Kirkby, Mr. Cort resigned the more valuable cure of Formby for that of Kirkby, as his heart was fixed there, and there he lived during the remainder of his days, exercising the duties of his office for upwards of fifty-six years. He entered formally on the duties of Kirkby on the 12th of December, 1793. Mr. Cort was a man of talent, and celebrated as an instructor of youth. He was a strict disciplinarian, and most accurate in the discharge of every duty. He catechised the children publicly in church each year, on the last three Sundays in Lent, thus acting in accordance with the rubric and Herbert's precept, "the country parson values catechising highly." He had also a taste for painting which descended to his son the late John Cort, an Attorney in Liverpool, who accumulated one of the finest private collections of paintings, prints, &c., to be found in the County. These still remain in the old Parsonage house, where Mr. Cort's two daughters, the sole survivors of the family, still reside. Mr. Cort's second son entered the ministry. Mr. Cort himself died in the 88th year of his age, having discharged the duties of his office till within a few days of his death. He officiated at the burial of the dead on the 6th of January, 1850, and caught a cold which proved fatal in about a fortnight's time. He was interred on the 23rd. A neat tablet has been erected in the chapel to his memory by his daughters. For a few years before his death he ceased to discharge the Sunday duty. The writer of this paper entered the ministry under Mr. Cort's auspices,

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and had thus an opportunity of knowing and appreciating his merits and worth. He ever regarded him as a fine specimen of a clergyman of a past age, but who still held his place with the present. He attended our present Diocesan's first visitation in 1849, held in Liverpool. Mr. Cort was most munificent in his charities. To Arkholme, his native place, his daughters in fulfilment of their father's known wishes, have given £15 per annum, secured on their property in that place, for the education of ten poor children. To eight poor persons in Kirkby and six in Simonswood, £10 per annum have been assigned in the proportion of three-fifths to the former and two-fifths to the latter. In addition to the above, they gave £1,000 to the Liverpool Charities.

To some future writer we must leave the task of recording the good acts of the present Incumbent. The writer of these remarks begs to thank him for his courtesy and kindness in giving him access to the registers, from which he derived much valuable information.

VIII.—THE CHAPEL.

The present chapel is built on the site of a more ancient one, which was taken down A.D. 1766. I have been informed that the ancient one had a "Rood-loft." There can be little doubt that there was a place of worship even in Saxon times, as the dedication to St. Chadd and the age of the Font would perhaps prove. The present edifice which is of the plainest possible character, was built A.D. 1766, by the Rev. Thomas Wilkinson. He obtained a Brief for the purpose, dated March 5th in that year, which raised upwards of £1,049.*

The half of the North side is occupied by a "lean-to," which formerly served for a School-room, before A.D. 1806, and also as a Vestry. The old school-room now serves as the entrance to the North Gallery and Vestry, and is called the "Bier House," as the bier for funerals is kept there. The Chapel was enlarged A.D. 1812 by the Rev. Mr. Cort and T. Robinson, Esq., agent to the Earl of Sefton, at their joint expense. This was effected by prolonging the side walls and building a new gable end. The North Gallery was added at the same time, and as the pulpit was in the middle of the south side, the gallery was made rather large. It was probably conjectured that it would then suffice for all the wants of the town-

* Baines' Lancashire.

ships. The present Incumbent, however, has found it necessary to add a South Gallery, the entrance to which is by stone steps outside. Additional accommodation is thus provided for above 100 persons; and there is now seat room altogether for about 600. The access to the little gallery in the West end is from the inside of the Church. Mr. Gray has also replaced by subscription an old worn-out organ by a new one, by personal donation has added a clock, and Lord Sefton presented the new bell.

It may be expected that ere long the present chapel will be exchanged for such a structure as the ecclesiological taste of the present age would suggest, as the munificence of the Earl of Sefton, in Church matters is so well known.

There is a grave yard which contains about half an acre. An addition was made to it during Bishop Sumner's time. The tombstones and inscriptions are of the usual rustic character.

IX.—THE FONT.

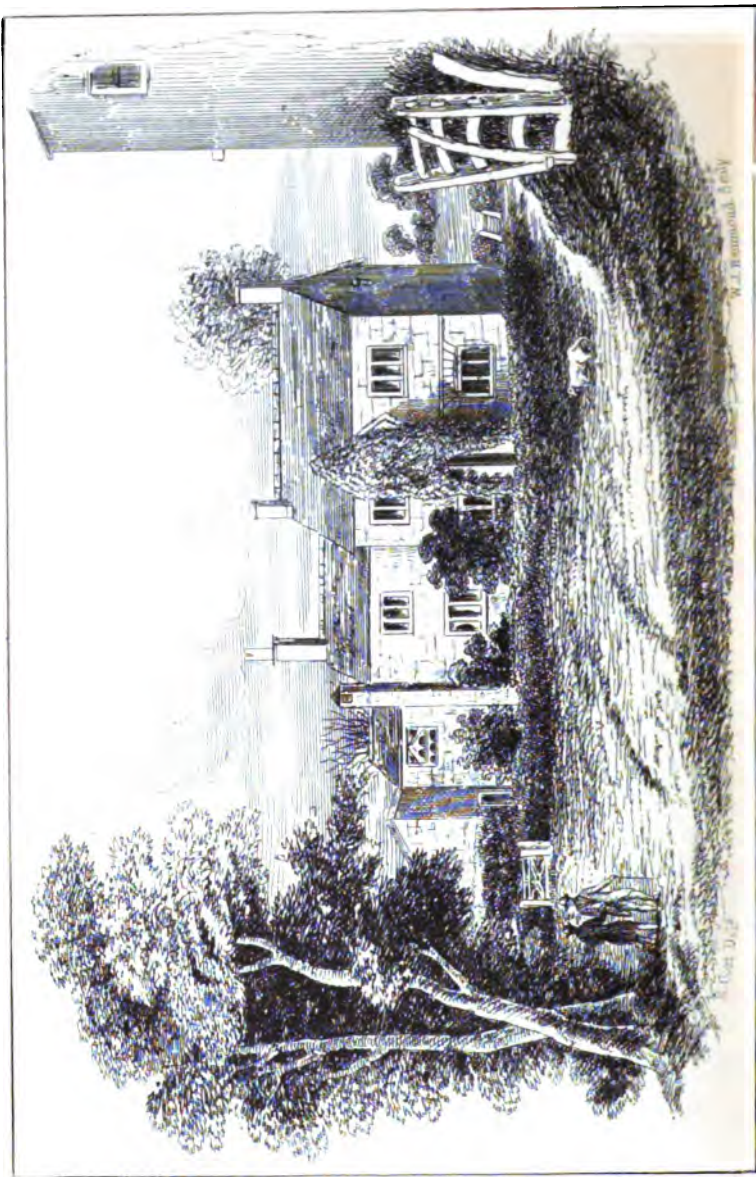
The only remnant of antiquity is the Font, which is generally supposed to be as old as the time of William Rufus. It is not proposed to enter into the discussion of this question, as it forms the subject of a distinct paper in the present volume. The author of that paper is of opinion that it is Saxon; and if this be true it will confirm a remark made above, that a chapel must have existed at Kirkby from a very early period. The font, being of red sandstone, is rather defaced by time, so that it requires very great care to make out the various figures which are carved upon it. The hand of time however has not been so rude as that of man. The font lay neglected in the Church yard under the spout, by the old school-room door, and the pupils used to sharpen their knives and pencils on it, and the only wonder is that it is in such good preservation. Mr. Cort at last had it removed into the "Bier House." The basement, which is of the double-cable form, was for many years in the old parsonage garden, supporting a sundial. Mr. Gray has had the Font restored to its place in the Church and has supplied a new pedestal. It is of large dimensions, sufficient for the immersion of such infants as are required to be baptized in that manner.

X.—THE PARSONAGE.

The old Parsonage house was erected about A.D. 1733, of which

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W. J. Raymond, Engraver

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the Terrier of A.D. 1789 gives the following account. "Also, belonging to the Curate a dwelling house and stable both of brick, and slated. They were built by the contribution of the inhabitants about 56 years ago, on a small piece of waste, granted by writing from the Lord of the Manor for that purpose, under the yearly rent of 4d. Another piece was added to increase the garden thereunto belonging. The yearly rent of this was 2d. But he had no power to give it only for his life, therefore the present Lord about 14 or 15 years ago laid claim to these premises and insisted on taking a lease of three lives in trust, for the use of the curate. The yearly rent for these premises is three shillings. The house contains two parlours, a lobby, kitchen, pantry, and cellar below stairs, five rooms above, and a closet over the porch," (which, though exceedingly small, was used by Mr. Mount for a study.)

Mr. Cort built a new kitchen and other offices at a considerable outlay. He also enclosed the small piece of ground attached to it and planted those trees, under the shade of which he used to sit in his old age.

The present Parsonage is a very fine building, completed A.D. 1848. Its grounds join the Chapel yard on the east side, and are neatly laid out and adorned with rising plantations, which are growing well, though suffering somewhat from the sea spray, which is carried to that distance in stormy weather.

XI.—THE SCHOOLS.

In 1806, a School was built by Lord Sefton, which he endowed with £40 per annum for the Master. There had previously been a small sum of £8 per annum from the "Billinge Charity." On an old table is recorded "the moiety of a yearly rent from Nehemiah Cowley's freehold estate in Billinge, left to the School, poor, &c."* In expenses, 10s.; to the poor and to the Schoolmaster, £8. The School was enlarged in 1851, and one of equal size built for girls, to which subsequently an Infant School has been added. There is a residence for the Master, and his house separates the Boys' and Girls' Schools. The average number of pupils is—Boys 60, and Girls and Infants 110.

XII.—THE CHARITIES.

The following is a copy of the Benefaction Table :—

William Fleetwood has left yearly 2 0 0

* Baines' Hist. Lanc.

Thomas Asp,* once in two years	10	0	0
Nehemiah Cowley, yearly	10	0	0
Rev. Wm. Mount, the interest of	20	0	0
Rev. R. Cort, (for 56 years minister of this chapel) for eight } poor people in Kirkby and six in Simonswood yearly }	10	0	0

On an old table we find Lawrence Pickup of Liverpool to the Curate and Poor £10. It also states that the Cowley Charity is to the School and Poor yearly.

XIII.—THE TITHEBARN, &c.

There is a large Tithebarn in Kirkby, but it is no longer used for parish purposes, as the tithes were commuted for a rent charge of £465 10s.

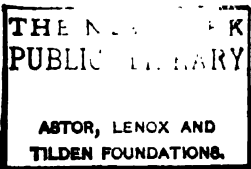
As the district is nearly altogether agricultural, only 24 families out of 154 being engaged in trade, and none in Simonswood, and as no proprietor has resided within the limits of the two townships for centuries, there are no remarkable houses calling for notice. Kirkby Hall may be mentioned, which is a farm house in Kirkby, and one in Simonswood, dated A.D. 1687. There is also a good house of modern structure in Kirkby, called Whitfield House. Lord Sefton has since 1850 removed to Kirkby his extensive works, in which the tiles and other requisites for his estate are prepared.

XIV.—REGISTERS.

We shall conclude our Notes, by some remarks on the oldest book of the Registers. It is of parchment, about the size of half-breadth foolscap.

On its first page is a copy of the Terrier, A.D. 1686. The first entry is, "Anno Domini, 1678, Burialls att Kirkby Chappell. Alice, y^e wife of Will. Kirkby, buried October 17th. Certified by Mr. Norras." The average number of deaths in 49 years, from 1678 to 1726, is 13; of births for the same period, 16. The average of marriages for the same period is only 3. The smallness of the number is accounted for by the fact that the majority of the inhabitants were married in those days in their parish church of Walton. There are no entries of marriages from 1686 to 1687, and from 1715 to 1720. Of the names of persons that occur in the Registers, the most common are Kirkby, Litherland, Sefton, Fazakerly,

* A grave stone with the letters T. A., 1698, marks the spot where his remains are laid, on the right hand side as you approach the chapel door. The date of his interment is July the 25th.





MR JOHN HOLT,

Lidgiatt, Holland, Halewood, Frodsham, Bibby, Brownbill, Bulling, Maudsley, Mercer, Mollyneux, Spencer, Tatlock, Tyrer, Webster, Woods. Many of these names are still to be found in the townships.

II. BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF A LATE LOCAL ANTIQUARY.

By James Stonehouse.

The etching before us represents Mr. John Holt, who, somewhat more than half a century ago, resided at Walton-on-the-Hill, near Liverpool, and followed the calling of a schoolmaster. He was a man highly respected by his neighbours, and one of those who felt a pleasure in acquiring and imparting knowledge. Mr. Holt was well known sixty years ago in this vicinity, as a man, although not nationally eminent, yet provincially and locally so, and as standing out from the common herd of his fellows. He was born at Hattersly, near Mottram, in Longendale, in 1743. There is some doubt respecting this date, as we find in the obituaries of the time that he is put down as dying at fifty-nine, while his gravestone, "that mute memento of the bye-gone time," records fifty-eight to be his age at the time of his decease.

He was originally intended for the Dissenting ministry, but he appears at a very early age to have become a member of the Church of England. He settled at Walton about 1757, and in 1761 his name appears in the church register as parish clerk, where it continues until 1781. As he is said to have dwelt between forty and fifty years in Walton, he must have received the appointment soon after his settling there. If this be the case it is somewhat remarkable; because he could not have been more than twenty years of age at the time, and it would have been contrary to law, which prescribes that none under twenty-one shall hold that office. He also held the appointment of surveyor of the highways for some years.

During the first years of his residence in Walton, he occupied one of the houses north of the church, where he followed the occupation of master of the Free Grammar school. He seems to have created, during his residence in the parish, a strong feeling of regard on the part of all his neighbours; and his kindness to his family was most commendable, in

supporting, as he did, some members of it. At one time, it appears, he was elected churchwarden, and being a loyal man in disloyal times, there is no doubt that his influence was exerted, in his own small sphere, to keep people in the right path.

On the formation of the Board of Agriculture, in 1793, Mr. Holt was appointed surveyor for the county of Lancaster, and in that capacity he drew up a Report so rapidly, and containing so much and such varied information, that he was specially noticed; and his was the first Report considered worthy of publication by the government.

In 1767 Mr. Holt married Elizabeth France, spinster, of Walton; the ceremony being performed on the 30th of April, by the Rev. Myles Atkinson, curate. Mrs. Holt was a most amiable person. Their union was not blessed by any offspring.

Soon after their marriage, Mr. Holt commenced a school for young ladies, a portion of whose education he superintended. The pupils were numerous and respectable; one of the branches of education taught was equestrian exercises, and Mr. Holt in his daily excursions, as surveyor of the highways, took with him one of the young ladies as his companion.

The school near the church was erected in 1773. Mr. Holt bought the land on which it stands, taking down a large low stone building that occupied its site. A part of the back of the present school is constructed of the stones taken from the old building. The passer by will notice that there is a vane on the top of the roof, bearing date 1794, with Mr. Holt's initials; also what at that period was a novelty in science, and a profound mystery to the unlearned—a lightning conductor. This latter may be regarded as a curiosity, for it was the first that was erected in this part of the country; in fact, one of the very few that were brought into use in any part of the kingdom.

I may here mention a rather curious circumstance, that at the time created a good deal of gossip amongst the Walton quid nuncs, in which Mr. Holt was somewhat concerned, and, as far as I can learn, it has never been fully accounted for. As the old chronicler says, "I tell the tale as 'twas told to me."

The circumstance to which I allude took place about 1790. It was the custom of Mr. Holt and some of his friends to assemble occasionally at

each other's houses, to enjoy each other's conversation. On one of these occasions, several friends, five I believe, had met together in Mr. Holt's study, when the conversation, wandering from one subject to another, at length turned upon—Raising the Devil. One of Mr. Holt's guests was Mr. Wright, then curate of Walton, who affirmed, that to raise the devil was no uncommon or difficult thing, and if they would like to see him, he would do it. An offer like this was not to be refused, and some desire being expressed to be introduced to his Satanic Majesty, Mr. Wright inquired in what shape they would wish to have him present. One suggested one shape, and another another, until one of the gentlemen present said, "let us have him as old H— s." Now this was an old man who lived near Mr. Holt's, and who was well known to them. "No," said one of the party, "he lives too near, let us have old Harry P——n," another well known old man who lived at some distance. Mr. Wright agreed to raise Beelzebub in this man's form, and, after using some little cabalistic ceremonies, and uttering a certain formula usual on such occasions, to the terror, consternation, and dismay of those present, old Harry P——n, in his grey coat, familiar to them all, stood in the midst of them. A scene of the utmost confusion ensued. The figure made a rush at one of the party, or seemed about to do so; but Mr. Holt interfered, and in the act threw down the person next to him against a chair, when the figure disappeared. Each gentleman positively averred that he saw old Harry P——n, and that he neither saw the door open on his approach, nor at his departure. Mr. Holt's servant, at the time that this piece of diablerie took place, was in the cellar directly under Mr. Holt's study, and hearing the noise and confusion, so unusual, over head, rushed up stairs to see what was the matter. On the landing place in the passage, he met his master's guests in a state of the utmost alarm. The party, of course, was broken up, and one of the guests, partly with the fright he had sustained, and partly with the hurt received in falling against the chair, was confined to his house for weeks. It may be said that Mr. Holt, to astonish, and perhaps play a hoax upon his guests, had had some understanding with Mr. Wright in this matter, but so far was Mr. Holt not in the secret of the proceeding, whatever it might have been, that he forbade Mr. Wright his house, and would never allow him to enter it again. One of the party went on the following day to the Rector of Walton, to inform him of the circumstance, and, with a dismayed look, cautioned the rector as to what

sort of man his curate was. "And so," said the reverend gentleman, "he raised the devil, did he? Well, that is a very easy matter; I can do that; shall I raise him for you?" "Oh dear, by no means," responded the worthy parishioner, "I wish you good day."

As an author, Mr. Holt has strong claims to notice among our local "Worthies." He published several works of great utility, one of which was "The Characters of the Kings and Queens of England." The first volume appeared in 1786, the second in 1787, and the third in 1788. In this work may be found arguments in favour of Societies like our own; and if our ancestors had had such associations, many doubtful points respecting the middle ages of our history would have been cleared up. At the date 1538, Mr. Holt says:—

"Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, Vicar General of Henry, ordered 'that every incumbent minister, in all the parishes in England, should keep a register of all weddings, christenings, and burials.' This is the first institution of this useful record, and by means of which most useful knowledge and interesting evidence has since been obtained on many important occasions. Their use might be further extended, namely, by registering the remarkable occurrences relative to the public concerns of the several districts."

This work was highly esteemed at the time. It is well written, and Mr. Holt has exhibited the characters of our Sovereigns in a fair and impartial spirit.

Mr. Holt also compiled several excellent little treatises for the use of his school, and wrote two works of fiction. He was also author of a pamphlet on the "*Culture of Potatoes*," which obtained for him the medal of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Sciences. He was also one of the first who drew attention to the collecting of materials for a Guide to Liverpool. In this he made considerable progress, arranging and classifying his materials in a very excellent manner. He had collected, previous to his death, a vast deal of local information of the most interesting description. His MSS. relative to the History of Liverpool, he bequeathed to his friend, Mr. Matthew Gregson, the author of the "Fragments."

Besides constantly corresponding on matters of local interest with the local press of the day, Mr. Holt was a steady contributor to the "Gentleman's Magazine," whose word at that time "was law, and whose decree was irrevocable." His initials appear to a great number of amusing and interesting articles. The account of a ramble into Derbyshire, which will

be found in vol. lxiii, pp. 19 and 720, is particularly deserving of notice. He also contributed to this publication, an account of the institution of the Liverpool Athenæum, (vol. lxx, p. 934 ;) it is dated, Walton, Sept. 18, 1800. In this paper he alludes to the establishment of the Lyceum News Room. He communicated a paper (vol. lxx, p. 934), relative to the Botanic Garden, which was then situated at the top of Oxford-street, and extended over the space occupied between it and Myrtle-street. The conservatory stood upon the ground where now stands the Deaf and Dumb School. To this paper are appended two errata, occurring in a former one, the first to the effect that Mr. Foster, and not Mr. Taylor, furnished the designs for the Athenæum ; and the second relating to a mistake about Professor Foster's herbarium.

Mr. Holt contributed also, for many years, the Meteorological Journal, which appears in the Gentleman's Magazine for the north of England, while Mr. Carey, the optician, furnished that for the south ; and it is somewhat singular that after Mr. Holt's death this valuable contribution was not continued by any other hand. In the number which was issued immediately after his death, the Diary, although commenced by Mr. Holt, was finished by a friend. To these diaries he appended remarks upon the budding and blossoming of flowers, the leafing of trees, the appearance of birds, the ripening of fruit, and other interesting natural phenomena connected with country life.

In 1777 Mr. Holt undertook the great feat of a journey to London, which he appears to have accomplished in two and a half days. His diary contains some curious remarks.

Accompanied by a friend, he left Liverpool on Easter Sunday, March 30, 1777, by the "Liverpool Diligence," at three in the afternoon. They arrived at Warrington at six o'clock, where they had tea ; at Knutsford at eight, and at Holmes Chapel at ten, where supper was partaken of. At two in the morning they arrived at Stone, in Staffordshire, where the landlady "got out of a warm bed, and hot us up some excellent ale." Lichfield at eight, to breakfast. Within a mile of this town the "Diligence" broke down, in the midst of a smart snow storm. Proceeding on their journey, the travellers arrived at two o'clock at Meridan, where, to Mr. Holt's astonishment, a charge was made "for fire." Daventry at six o'clock, where they stopped for the night, leaving at five the following morning.

Breakfasting at Stoney Stratford, they arrived at St. Alban's at two o'clock to dine, and at six o'clock found themselves in the great metropolis, having completed the journey in two and a half days!

Among the sights of London, Mr. Holt goes to the Public Office in Bow-street, where he sees Sir John Fielding, the brother of the author of "Tom Jones."

"Wednesday. The day of the week for transacting business at the public office, Bow-street. Called there to see the famous Sir John Fielding, whose name is so well known to us in his public capacity, as well as being brother to the immortal author of "Tom Jones," "Joseph Andrews," &c. My curiosity greatly warmed. Sir John was seated on the Bench, covered, as being Chairman. His figure venerable, not a little heightened by his fine grey locks, his person was strong and muscular, the lines of his face keen and expressive. He has a very magisterial appearance. His eyes (being quite dark) are covered by a black bandage. This is no disadvantage to his appearance, as might be expected, but to the other masterly strokes nature has given him, presents to you a fine emblem of the figure of Justice."

He says of Bedlam Hospital :—

"The yellings and bawlings of the poor wretches under confinement, drove me from the place."

"Called at Mr. Stubbs' the celebrated horse painter, saw his inimitable productions. This was an excellent treat. Upon Romney, also, a portrait painter of high repute."

"Visited the buildings in the neighbourhood of Oxford Road ; a deal of new ground has been built hereabout. Marybone Gardens at this time are in ruins, the ground intended for building upon. Walked to St. James' with an intent to see the King and Queen. Had a view of them both on the road from Buckingham House to St. James' carried in chairs, attended by a few footmen and yeomen of the guards. Not much parade or attendance. Saw them a second time, with the court officers, pass through the gallery to the chapel royal. The King is a fine person, but not a good walker : in my eyes has the appearance of majesty. The Queen seems to possess all that is amiable and agreeable, has a pleasant look ; and an affectionate smile is always at the service of the gazing crowd. Yet her delicate constitution seems overpowered with something more than her strength can well support. This may probably be accounted for from her present situation, being pregnant. To the disgrace of the court, the yeomen of the guards are the rudest set of people I have hitherto met with in this town."

"After dinner took a walk to Kensington, the road crowded all the way with people going or returning. The gardens, at certain seasons, are open and free to every one out of livery, or *who does not wear leather breeches.*"

"Monday. Soon in the park again. Saw the King on horseback taking his morning ride, an exercise he is very fond of, and never, or very seldom omits when the weather is favourable. If it should rain, he takes this under cover, in a place provided for that purpose. He rises usually at seven, breakfasts, sees his family, and mounts his horse precisely at nine, upon which he continues about a couple of hours, then returns, dresses, and is ready for the dispatch of business. His dress this morning was a plain suit of red with yellow buttons, a very large hat in which was a cockade, but no other ornament. His horse, a very bony, showy black one, a bob-tail, no way decorated; a couple of footmen, and one gentleman by way of companion, were all his retinue."

"Called on Sir Joshua Reynolds, and feasted my eyes with a sight of his excellent paintings—likewise upon Mrs. Hogarth, widow of the late famous man; saw his excellent collection of prints, and purchased a few taken from the plates of that humourous artist."

After a peaceful, useful, and I believe prosperous life, Mr. Holt was attacked by a bilious complaint, under which he sunk. He died March 21, 1801; and if any pilgrim by the perusal of these pages, feels a disposition to stand by the good man's grave, he will find it between the old Saxon font and the door at the south-east of the church. The stone is a blue flag, broken in one portion. Mr. Holt's wife is buried in a grave by his side. The inscription on the gravestone runs as follows:—"Here are deposited the remains of Mr. John Holt, who was well known and greatly respected for the goodness of his disposition, the rectitude of his conduct, the strength of his talents, and the usefulness of his life. He was born at Hattersley, in the parish of Mottram, in Longdendale, and died 21st March, 1801, aged 58."

In person Mr. Holt was tall, being very broad below the loins, with remarkably narrow shoulders and chest. His face was good humoured and expressive. His voice was thin, and of a remarkably high tone. He had no beard, and it has been said that he never shaved.

FOURTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 9th February, 1854.

SAMUEL GATH, Esq., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The certificates of three Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected Members of the Society :—

Alfred W. Hunt, B.A., 31, Oxford Street, Liverpool.
Samuel Wood, F.S.A., the Abbey, Shrewsbury.

The following gentlemen were enrolled as Members, in accordance with a By-law, without election or entrance fee :—

Robert Barnes, Esq., Brookside, Manchester, late Mayor of Manchester.

John Hall, Esq., late Mayor of Lancaster.

Samuel Holme, Esq., Holmestead, Aigburth, and 57, Church Street, Liverpool, late Mayor of Liverpool.

The Earl of Harrowby, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, having been announced as a candidate, he was proposed from the Chair, in accordance with a By-law, and unanimously elected.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table :—

From the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool.	Proceedings No. 7, for Sessions 1851-52, and 1852-53.
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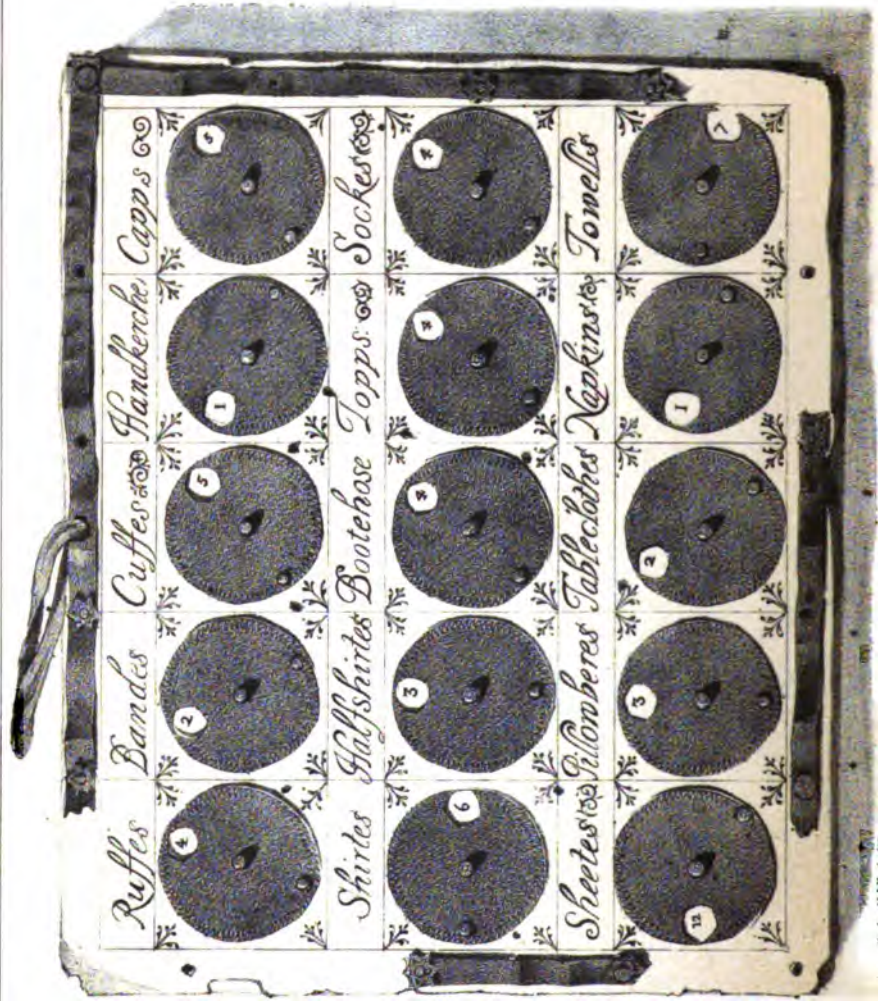
From the Photographic Society, Liverpool.	The Photographic Journal, No. I.
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From David Lamb, Esq.	The <i>Athenæum</i> , for 1853.
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From R. Rawlinson, Esq.	Report to the Board of Health, on a preliminary inquiry relative to GARSTON, in Lancashire.
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ANCIENT WASHING TABLET

HANLEY and SHELTON in Staffordshire.
EAST STONEHOUSE, Devonshire.

From John Clements, Esq.

Hall's Chronicle, 4to, bl. let., cir. 1548.

From the *Author*.

The Complete Paper on Liverpool Churches and Chapels, by the Rev. Dr. Thom; reprinted from the papers of the Historic Society.

Outline of the principal Geological features of the Salt Field of Cheshire, and the adjoining districts; by Geo. W. Ormerod, Esq., M.A., F.G.S.; reprinted from the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, for November, 1848.

The following articles were EXHIBITED :—

The Rev. Peter Steel Dale, M.A., exhibited the Account of the Remarkable Cross, inscribed with Anglo-Saxon Runes, preserved in the garden of Ruthwell Manse Dumfriesshire; by Henry Duncan, D.D. These have been translated by John Mitchell Kemble, Esq.

Mr. Clements exhibited a curious horn book or table, used about the commencement of the seventeenth century, for the purpose of keeping an account of clothes given to the laundress to be washed. It is divided into fifteen compartments, in each of which is a circular disc, moveable on a central pivot. On one side of this is a perforation, so that the disc in its revolutions exposes figures from 1 to 12, as required. Above the various discs are written the names of the articles;—Ruffles, Bandes, Cuffes, Handkerche, Capps, Shirtes, Half-shirtes, Bootehose, Topps, Sockes, Sheetes, Pillowberes, Tableclothes, Napkins, Towells. The whole is surrounded with a border of brass, studded with small rosettes, which serve as nails to fasten the horn to the wood on which the paper is placed.

Mr. Clements also exhibited a large-sized spur of iron, found at West Derby.

Dr. Kendrick exhibited the head of an ancient halberd, found in the ceiling of a house at Manchester. Nothing of the same kind is found in Meyrick; and it is supposed to be of the time of Elizabeth.

Mr. Mayer exhibited several prints, in illustration of his own paper; and Mr. Pidgeon two drawings, in illustration of that which was the joint production of Mr. Roberts and himself.

Dr. Hume announced that he had accepted the office of Local Secretary at Liverpool, in compliance with the wishes of the Committee at Grantham, for the erection of a Monument in memory of Sir Isaac Newton.

A letter was read from James Boardman, Esq., mentioning further particulars respecting Mr. John Holt. The following is the substance of it :—

In the summer of 1797, he was taken with a family party to a sale at Walton; and in the afternoon he called on Mr. Holt, along

with his friends; Mr. Holt and Mr. Matthew Nicholson being well acquainted. The members of the party were kindly received, and the conversation turned on agriculture and horticulture. Allusion was frequently made to the Bank-Hall rose, a pretty species of wild rose which formerly grew in great abundance on the sand hills, opposite to what is now the Huskisson Dock.

Mr. Holt's appearance and manner were striking. He was a tall spare man; with a peculiar voice, resembling that of the mutilated males of Italy. His clothes were large and loose, and his land boots or shoes, with high fronts, were precisely like those which may be discerned in Hogarth's prints. The parlour contained a good many old-looking books and port folios; and some articles of furniture now obsolete.

Though not sixty years ago, a ride to Walton was then looked upon as a trip to Southport or Runcorn would be at present; and a coach from Mr. Peter Tyrer's, of Suffolk Street, then the principal posting-house, was ordered to be at the door at half-past eight in the morning.

PAPERS.

I.—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MR. JOHN WYKE, WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE ARTS AND MANUFACTURES OF LIVERPOOL FROM 1760 TO 1780,

By W. J. Roberts and H. C. Pidgeon, Esqrs.

The name of Mr. John Wyke has on two occasions been mentioned at meetings of this Society (see vol. IV, pp. 42 and 140), and as Mr. Wyke was a man of some mark in his day, and was connected with the earliest art movement in Liverpool, it may not be thought unworthy of the objects of this Society to put on record a short notice of him, especially in connexion with the state of the town at that period.

To those who now study the manners and habits of the different classes in society, it may not be uninteresting to review the great changes which have taken place in Liverpool since the time when king George III. ascended the throne. To the lover of the fine arts, it will be gratifying to trace the manner in which they have progressed since 1769, when the first society for their promotion was established in Liverpool by Mr. Wyke and his coadjutors.

In the bye-ways of literature we sometimes meet with materials of great interest, which the dignity of history is apt to undervalue or overlook. Thus, in some published "Letters to the Earl of Cork," written, after a visit to Liverpool in 1767, by Samuel Derrick, Esq., we find a picture of Liverpool more detailed and curious than is to be found in any more pretending publication of the period. Mr. Derrick describes the town as being nearly as broad as it was long. On referring to a contemporary map of the town,* we find that, on the north, it only extended a few yards beyond St. Paul's Church; on the west, the river washed its banks; and, on its margin, there were three docks—the dry pier, old dock, and south dock. The town, on the south, extended to the Wesleyan Chapel in Pitt-street, parallel with the road to Toxteth-park, which was bounded by hedges. Wolstenholme-square was a suburb, and also the Ranelagh-gardens, on the site of the present Adelphi Hotel, which was the boundary in that direction. The Infirmary, on the site of St. George's-hall, was out of town. At the foot of Shaw's-brow commenced Town's-end-lane, now Byrom-street, from which, at the end of a few fields, a road branched off to Everton, and on the opposite side another to Tithebarn-street, which was then only partially built up on the north side. Hence we arrive where we set out, at St. Paul's Church.

In this little community there was a life which Derrick, who was the master of the ceremonies at Bath, describes minutely. An assembly once a fortnight, collected the ladies and gentlemen "to dance and play cards," and the southern beau expresses his surprise and astonishment to find "some women elegantly accomplished and perfectly well dressed." No doubt they had profited by the tuition of the French dancing master, Deville Desaubry, of George's-street, and his compeer in the sister art of music, the Italian, Alexander Frederick Daste, of Virginia-street; and Mr. Derrick might have added that they were also versed in courtly etiquette, for they addressed Queen Charlotte on the abolition of hair powder and pomatum; expressing the "unspeakable pleasure they felt in obeying her commands to wear their hair in a state of nature—unpowdered and unpomatumed—which will be the means of showing that most excellent natural ornament in its true beauty"

The London theatrical stars shone during the season, and pieces were

* Plan of Liverpool, 1766.

"really well done," and "everything carried on with amazing propriety." "Public business was transacted by the Corporation in noble apartments over the Exchange." "To the credit of the town, party distinctions seemed to be banished from among the inhabitants." To their creature comforts three inns contributed, and moderation must have guided the charges, for we are told that "for 10d. a man dines elegantly at an ordinary consisting of a dozen dishes." The good fellowship of the townsmen was shown by a fact noticed by Derrick, who enjoyed their hospitality. "If, by accident," he says, "one man's stock of ale runs short, he has only to send his pitcher to his neighbour to have it filled"; and the curious in beer will be sorry that he cannot now taste the good ale of Mr. Thomas Mears, of Paradise-street, a merchant in the Portuguese trade, "whose malt was bought at Derby, his hops in Kent, and his water brought by express order from Lisbon." "It was, indeed," says Derrick, "an excellent liquor." The tables of the merchants were plenteously furnished, and their viands well served up, but candour obliges us to add that "of their excellent rum they consumed large quantities in punch, when the West India fleet came in, mostly with limes," which Mr. Derrick praises as being "very cooling, and affording a delicious flavour." In the midst of this hospitality, he ungenerously alludes to their intellectual poverty, and adds that "few of the merchants have had more education than befits a counting house."* It must be admitted that their energies and attention were then principally devoted to the acquisition of wealth and the spread of commerce; but though there were few, comparatively speaking, whose minds were not wholly absorbed by the charms of cent. per cent., those few devoted their leisure hours to the cultivation of intellectual subjects, and to them we owe a debt of gratitude for their instrumentality in the promotion of those objects, which we should not be unmindful to repay, by recording whatsoever incidents of their history we can rescue from the wastes of time.

At this period, one of the chief branches of industry carried on here was English porcelain, blue and white earthenware, of which there were eleven manufactories. The watches of Liverpool were said not to be excelled in Europe, and it is an interesting fact that the parish of Prescot has been the seat of the watch and watch-tool manufacture from an early period. This trade appears to have sprung from the inhabitants holding their small farms by the feudal tenure of making armour and weapons for the lord

* Derrick's Letters from Chester, Liverpool, &c.

of the barony of Halton Castle. On the abolition of that tenure, when defensive armour was not required, instead of beating their "spears into ploughshares, and their swords into pruning hooks," the Prescotonians, as Mr. Gregson, in his "Fragments relative to the History of Lancashire," states, turned their talents to the more minute and equally peaceful art of manufacturing horologies to mark the lapse of time, for which their descendants to this day are justly celebrated.

Two glass factories, salt, iron, and copper works, eight sugar houses, thirty-six breweries, and twenty-seven windmills (of which now only four or five remain), fifteen roperies, and a stocking manufactory, complete the statistical enumeration of the trade of Liverpool at that era.

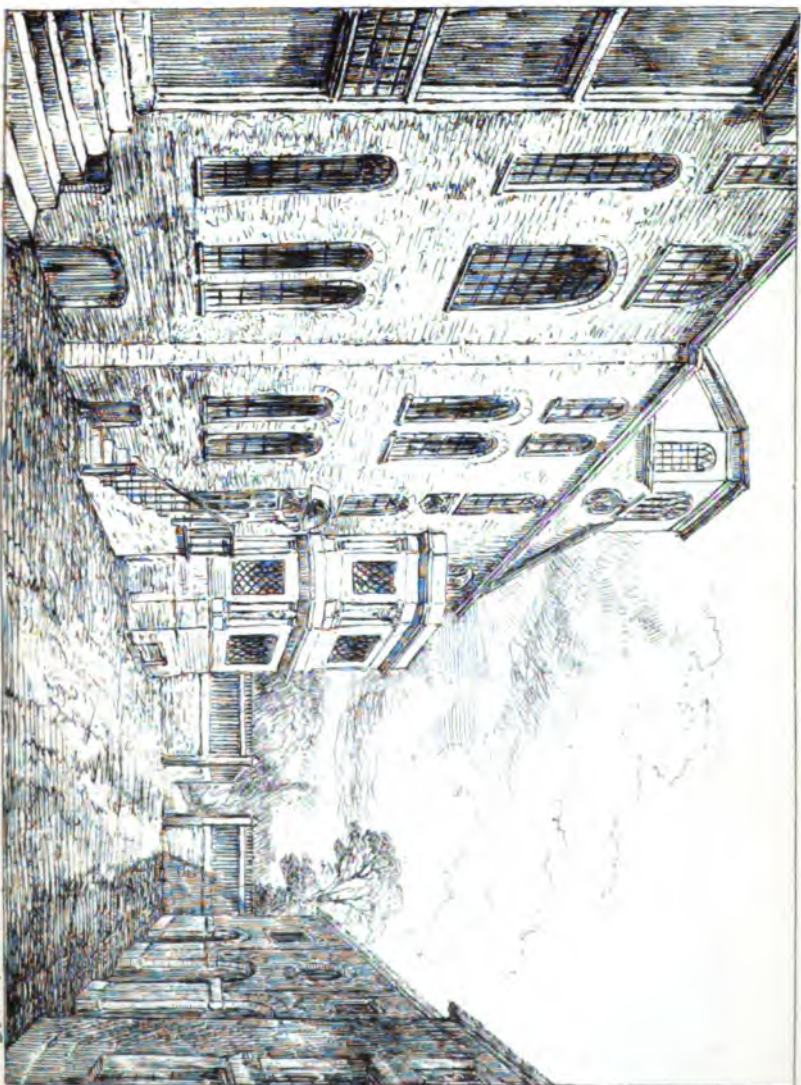
The various branches of the watch business, on a large scale, were first established in Liverpool in the year 1758, by Mr. Wyke, who was a native of the parish of Prescot. He was famous for watch tools and instruments for the cutting of toothed wheels, and excelled in all motion work, chains, mainsprings, and pinion wire, "of every size, to as many as fifty drawings," and for watches and clocks. On the dials of the latter, his favourite mottoes were "On time's uncertain date man's eternal hours depend;" and "Time wasted is existence, used is life;" also, "O time! than gold more sacred." Mr. Wyke resided, when he first came to Liverpool, in King-street.* There he made the acquaintance of his neighbour, Mr. Thomas Bentley, who carried on business with Mr. Boardman, as a Manchester warehouseman. Their friendship was connected by unity of sentiment, and congeniality of taste. Mr. Bentley (who was one the founders of the Liverpool Library, in the year 1758,) in the year 1763, originated the religious society for which an edifice of an octagonal form was erected in Temple-court; whence the term "Octagonians" was attached to the sect. His coadjutors in the work were Presbyterians and members of the Church of England: of the latter was Mr. Wyke. Mr. Enfield says this sect was founded with a view to the improvement of religious worship, and that several gentlemen of learning and ability drew up a liturgy for their use.† A copy that belonged to Mr. Wyke is now in the possession of Richard Brooke, Esq., a writer on the history of Liverpool, and from the mention of this Prayer-book these remarks originate.

The residences of the merchants at this period were substantial

* Evid de famil de Wyke. † Enfield's History of Liverpool, p. 47.

and well built, with more attention to utility than architectural beauty. It was a primary consideration to unite on one plot of land the house, office, warehouse, and yards. The dwelling-house was frequently erected with the first storey elevated considerably above the level of the street, with high flights of steps, in order to obtain large vaults for the stowage of merchandise. In the back part of the house there were often offices under the same roof, and a warehouse erected in the yard. In 1764-5, Mr. Wyke erected the buildings alluded to in Vol. IV. of our Proceedings, on a plot of ground, which he then purchased, fronting to Dale Street, extending from within a few yards of Dig Lane, (now Cheapside,) to the present Hatton Garden, and from Dale Street northwards about half the way towards Tithebarn Street. It was laid out for his residence, coach house, stable, and garden, with a manufactory, warehouse, and various other buildings, which formed a quadrangular court, with an entrance from Dale-street to the west, of which there was one house, and to the east five others, fronting the street. At the entrance on the west side of the quadrangle were the warehouse and manufactory, adjoining his residence, which lay to the north. This end of the court was separated from the garden by a wall, with palisading and gates. On the east side of the quadrangle, or court, opposite the house, were the coach house and stable; adjoining to which was a range of dwellings already alluded to.

When a man erects a residence for himself, we are naturally led to look to it for an evidence of his taste: a description of this will be the exponent of Mr. Wyke's. A high flight of steps led to the first floor—the usual characteristic of the architecture of the time, its utility rendering the basement story serviceable for kitchen and domestic offices. On the north side of the entrance there was a semi-octagonal projection, executed in stone, with a window on each side, and pilasters at the angles. This specimen of architecture exhibited order above order, the lower story being Doric, with its triglyphs, &c.; above was placed the Ionic, which was plain. At the angles between the pilasters, immediately below the caps, there were circular lights, round which were suspended well-executed wreaths. The entrance, apparently, was considered an important feature. In the elevation over the door there was a semi-circular pediment, supported by carved trusses, above which were two heights of circular-headed windows, between which was a small one, of the shape of an armorial shield, with a bar in the form of a chevron. This was glazed with stained glass or,



Designed by W. P. Roberts. 1847.

Residence of Mr. John White, White's Court, Little Street, Liverpool.

Engraved by W. P. Roberts.

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charged with crosses fleury, two and one, *gules*. The elevation of the house was finished with an open pediment, with a glazed light in the tympanum, of an oval form, within which was carved in wood a lion rampant, as a crest. These lights lighted the hall and staircase; above the roof was an octagon turret, for taking transits. In the garden there was a summer house, one of the last of its character in the town. It stood in the north-west angle of the ground: to the south and east it was open with arches; on the opposite sides were seats; above was a square room with windows on each side, and the roof terminated in a point, crowned by a pine apple wrought in stone. Of the same description was the summer house, on the bowling green of the house erected near May-street, Mount-pleasant, by Mr. Roscoe, after the birth of his talented son, in which was composed the poem of "Mount Pleasant." It stood on the site of the house of the schoolmaster of St. Patrick's School, Pleasant-street, and a sketch of it is in the possession of Mr. Roberts, who saw it pulled down with ropes, and who, when a boy, had often played upon the green.

On the 18th of August, 1768, Mr. Wyke married his second wife, Miss Jane Green, an event thus recorded in the papers of the day: "Mr. Wyke, famous for instruments in the watch way, to Miss Green."* He now for the first time felt the real happiness of wedded life, and having completed his residence and works, and concentrated the whole of them on the spot, he had more leisure to cultivate those objects that dignify and ennoble life.

In 1769, the year after the foundation of the Royal Academy in the metropolis, some gentlemen of Liverpool appear to have desired that their town should have the advantage of an Institution of a similar character. Though they were unable to obtain the patronage of royalty to their scheme, they did not disdain to commence on a more humble scale. Mr. Wyke, who was one of the foremost promoters of the Institution, had for coadjutors, Mr. Richard Tate, merchant; Matthew Dobson, M.D.; Matthew Turner, M.D.; Mr. Michael Renwick, surgeon; Mr. John Eyes, attorney; Mr. Charles Eyes, Mr. John Orme, and Mr. William Everard, architects; Mr. John Baines, master of the Free Grammar School; Mr. John Sykes, schoolmaster; Mr. Richard Caddick, Mr. Thomas Chubbard, and Mr. Ottiwell Worrall, portrait painters and artists; Mr. P. P. Burdett, engraver; Mr. Thomas Critchlow, Mr.

* *Liverpool Chronicle*, 1768, p. 827.

Joseph Deare (uncle of the afterwards celebrated John Deare, the sculptor, who died at Rome); Mr. Joseph Durand, Mr. William Newby, Mr. Peter Romney, and Mr. Paul Pennington (of the family whence came Mr. John Pennington, an artist well known professionally as Jack Frost, from the frequent repetitions of his frost scenes in the exhibitions). The above gentlemen founded an academy for the encouragement of designing, drawing, painting, &c. Their meetings were held in a room over the library in John-street, where they proposed to deliver lectures on anatomy, perspective, architecture, and painting. Casts were procured from the celebrated sculptor Flaxman, their principal object being to afford to artists and others facilities for the prosecution of their studies. This, the earliest institution of the kind in the provinces, languished for want of encouragement. In the year 1778 it was revived, and lectures were given by Dr. Matthew Turner, on anatomy and the theory of forms; Mr. William Everard, on architecture; Mr. Michael Renwick, surgeon, on chemistry; and Mr. P. P. Burdett on perspective. Evidences of the abilities of the last of these gentlemen for that subject are his views of the public buildings of Liverpool which embellish Enfield's history of the town. On the 17th of December of the same year, Mr. William Roscoe, who was then in the twentieth year of his age, read an elegant ode which he had written on the objects of the institution. Mr. Roscoe had been previously introduced to the society by Mr. John Eyes, attorney, one of the founders, to whom he was articled, who discovered his talents by finding on his desk some verses which he had composed on Shenstone, the poet, and his writings. The following year, 1774, their first exhibition took place, the first in Liverpool or any provincial town in the kingdom. It was so well attended that a second edition of the catalogue was required. There were 84 paintings, &c., exhibited. Amongst the contributors were Mr. Richard Tate, merchant, Gradwell-street; Mr. William Roscoe, of the Bowling-green, Mount-pleasant; Mr. Daniel Daulby, jun., merchant, Sir Thomas's-buildings, (afterwards brother-in-law to Mr. Roscoe); Mr. William Rathbone; Mr. Matthew Gregson, upholster, Drury-lane; Mr. Charles Eyes, architect and surveyor, Lord-street; Mr. P. P. Burdett; and Mr. Thomas Chubbard. Mr. Richard Tate and the last two gentlemen were among the founders of the academy, in 1769.* Two of the works then exhibited are

* MS. Books of the Academy, in the possession of my late friend, Matthew Gregson, F.S.A.

among the illustrations of a manuscript entitled "The progress of the Fine Arts in Liverpool, with Memoirs of the Artists," collected by Mr. Roberts.

In 1776, after the closing of the Octagon (as described in our proceedings by the Rev. Dr Thom and Richard Brooke, Esq.,) Mr. Wyke, returned to the bosom of that communion which he had left—an event no doubt accelerated by his friend Mr. Bentley leaving for London some time before.

In the following year, he was on the committee for conducting the affairs of the parish. It consisted of the mayor, bailiffs, rectors, justices, churchwardens, and sidesmen for the time being, and thirty-eight other gentlemen, among whom were his intimate friends Mr. Richard Gerard and Mr. Edward Chaffers.

In 1778 we find Mr. Wyke enrolled amongst the philanthropists of the day who sought to alleviate the sufferings of their fellow townsmen by instituting a dispensary. Its avowed object was to afford medical relief to the poor at their own dwellings; but medical relief was only another phrase for the introduction of a more cordial and plentiful diet, and order and cleanliness into the dwellings of those whom the medical men visited. It was directed by John Blackburne, jun., Esq., president; Joseph Brooks, Esq., treasurer; Mr. John Wyke and Mr. William Dickson, auditors; and a committee of the subscribers. Doctors Joseph Brandreth, Jonathan Binns, and James Worthington, were appointed physicians; and Mr. Wright Gleave, Mr. Edward Alanson, and Mr. James Gerard, surgeons.* The dispensary was situated between John-street and Princes-street, having a frontage in each. It was superseded in the year 1782 by a new building in Church-street. On the front of this second building there was a bas-relief of the Good Samaritan, thus alluded to by a native poet:—

"Fair Mersey's port her Dispensary rears,
Upon a liberal and well founded plan,
And on its front descriptively appears,
In sculptur'd stone—the Good Samaritan—
A noble proof of candid worth sincere,
Where trade extends to indigence her care." †

The introduction of this work of art on the front of the building must be attributed to those patrons of art Dr. Dobson, Mr. Roscoe, Mr. Wyke, Mr. John Baines, and Mr. Charles Eyes, town surveyor. With a desire to patronize a native rising sculptor, the afterwards celebrated John

* Report of the Dispensary.

† The Dispensary, a Poem by James Clarke, in three books, 1783.

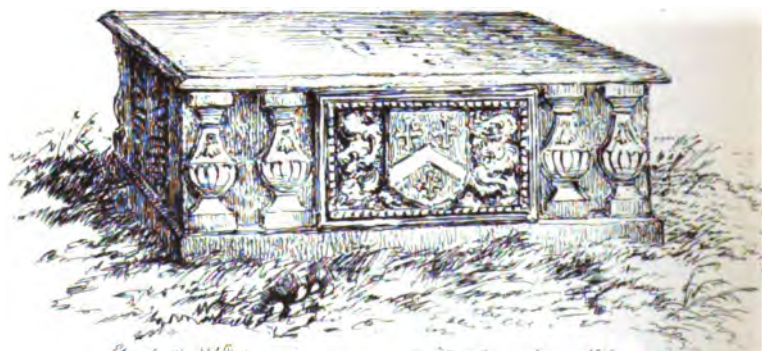
Deare, who was at this time in London, and sent a sketch book containing two designs for the above subject to his father, to whom he addressed a letter, stating that the sketch in Italian chalk he liked better than anything else he ever drew. "It makes a good group, and light and shade."* For the situation in which it was then placed on the building, it was too diminutive, and, consequently, was completely lost. On the taking down of the building, in 1829, which was purchased by Josias Booker, Esq., this bas-relief was given to the Committee, and by them judiciously inserted in the wall over the fireplace in the board room of the Northern Dispensary, then in the course of erection. Mr. Wyke in addition to the office of auditor, continued a member of the parish committee, with his friends Mr. Edward Chaffers and Mr. Richard Gerard, but in consequence of his declining health, in the following year, he withdrew from those onerous public duties which he had hitherto so ardently pursued. On the 9th of April, 1798, being in the sixty-third year of his age, he prepared to make his will. This occurrence is associated with one of the greatest names Liverpool has ever boasted, as he consulted his young friend Mr. William Roscoe, and directed him to draw it up, and he appointed his friends Mr. Richard Gerard, late mayor, Mr. Edward Chaffers, and Mr. Edward Mason, merchants, Mr. John Baines, master of the Free Grammar School, Thomas Hales, gentleman, of Wavertree, and his wife, executors. After reciting bequests to his clerk and workmen, his wife, and sister (Mrs. Mary Valentine,) also to his nephews, nieces, and others, he did not forget the charities of his native place, nor the Blue Coat Hospital, the Infirmary, and Dispensary, of Liverpool. To the last of these institutions, of which he had been one of the founders, he doubled the amount of his bequest, ordering "that it shall be particularly applied to providing fuel, and soups or other nourishing diet, for such distressed patients as may, in the judgment of the physicians, stand in need thereof."† On the authority of the elegant author of "Lorenzo de Medici," it appears that Mr. Wyke had contemplated the endowment of the Liverpool Academy—an omission deeply to be regretted; and it is remarkable that another patron of art, the late Henry Blundell, Esq., of Ince, intended to have done the same. This object, we regret, is not yet accomplished; and the academy, even at this hour, in a community like ours, with the richest corporate estate in the kingdom, and our merchant princes surrounded by munificence and splendour, languishes for support. Mr. Wyke's health visibly

* MS. Life of John Deare, by Mr. Roberts.

† Wyke MSS.

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Restored by H. J. Pedgley from a drawing by R. G. Jones, 1842

Arms and Tomb of Sir John Wyke.

declining, he was no longer enabled to participate in the routine of public duties which had afforded him so much pleasure. The evening of his days was spent in privacy, and cheered by the society of those intellectual friends with whom he had enjoyed his favourite pursuits. In 1787, after adding a codicil to his will, which was attested by his friend Doctor Matthew Turner, who was one of his coadjutors in the formation of the first academy, he expired at his residence in Wyke's-court, on the 10th of September, and his remains were interred in the burial ground of the parish church of Prescott, where he had erected an altar tomb, a short distance to the north-west of the tower of the church, in memory of his parents, whose ancestors had resided in that parish (as appears by documentary evidence) for nearly three centuries.* In panels on the side of the tomb are sculptured the arms and crest, already described as forming decorative lights to the hall and staircase of Mr. Wyke's residence. His funeral was attended by a long train of relations and friends—

And when he went to his reward, they shed the pious tear,
And sung the hallowed requiem, over his lowly bier.

The boys of the Blue Coat Hospital preceded the *cortège* to the foot of Low-hill, singing a funeral anthem; and, on its entrance into the town of Prescott, the children of the school there met and preceded it to the church, singing on the way. The burial service was read by the vicar, the Rev. Samuel Sewell; and, shortly afterwards, the following brief but expressive inscription, from the pen of the friend who drew up his will, was added to his tomb:—

John Wyke died September 10
1787

Aged 67.

A man of great abilities,
Industry,
and a

Patronizer of the Arts.

Thus I have endeavoured to bring before you a brief epitome of the changes in the manners and pursuits of this community at that era, and a few notes on the life of one enterprising individual belonging to it, who was the first that established on a large scale what at the present time is a most lucrative branch of business; the declared value of its exports being for the last few years more than £60,000 per annum.

* Duchy Records, and Wyke MSS.

PORCELAIN AND EARTHENWARE MANUFACTURE IN LIVERPOOL. The foregoing paper, in which a brief allusion is made to this manufacture, elicited a full and interesting letter to one of our local journals, from John Rosson, Esq., of Moor Hall, Ormskirk. It was dated 9th May. The following is an abstract :—

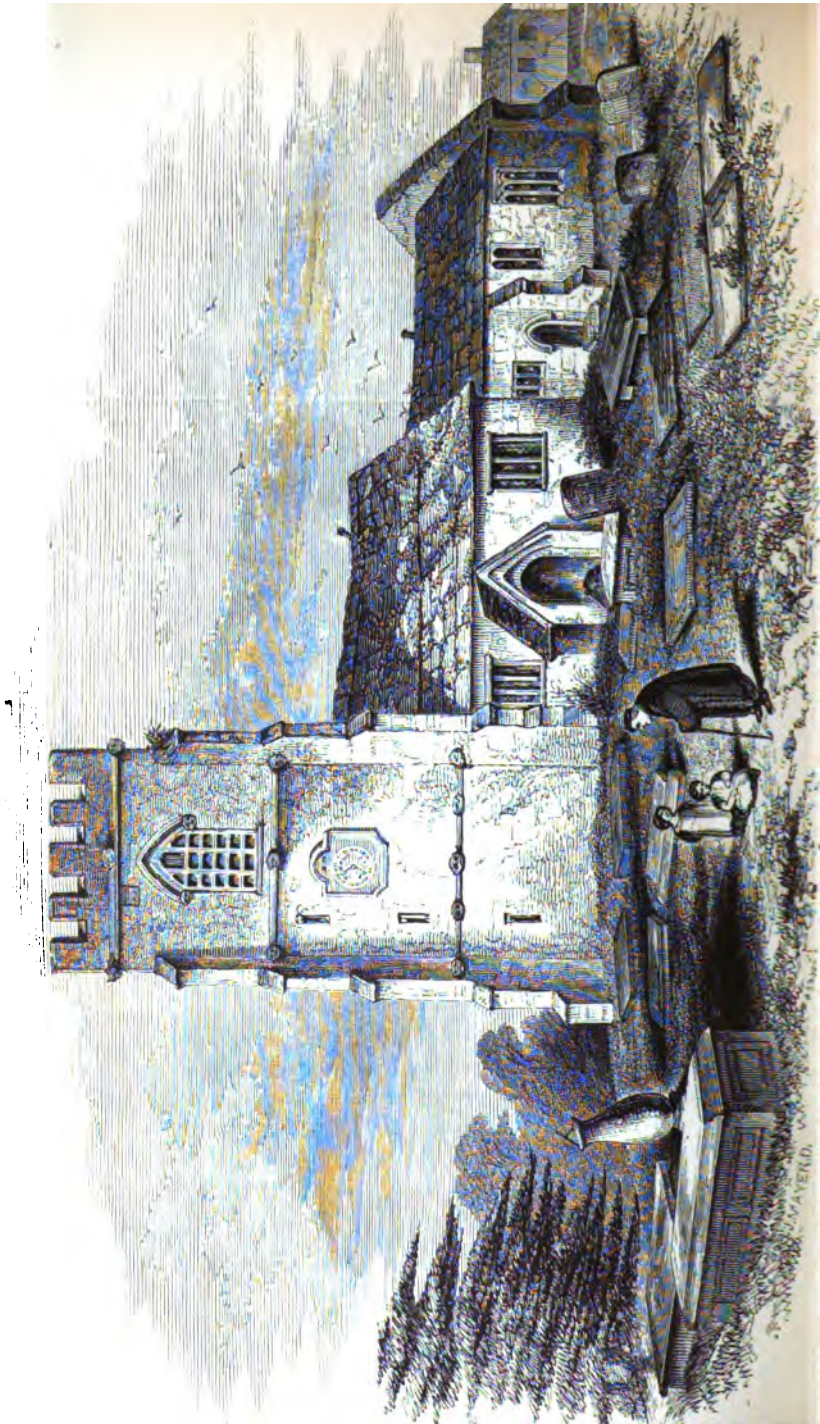
During the existence of the “eleven manufactories” of earthenware, Mr. Richard Chaffers was at the head of the trade ; and his sudden death, at the early age of forty, was a principal cause why so few materials now exist for a history of this branch of manufacture. Mr. Chaffers resided at the bottom of Dale Street, in a house recently removed in the improvements of the town ; his moulding-houses were on the site of Islington terrace, and his manufactory on the north side of Shaw's Brow. He had been very successful in the manufacture of the common blue and white ware, of which he exported large quantities to our American colonies, when the improvements of Wedgewood introduced a new era.

The “soapstone” (steatite) of Cornwall had been leased to a few, who thus possessed it exclusively ; and without it, he saw that competition in the trade was impossible. Having secured the services of a talented workman, called Podmore, formerly in the employ of Wedgewood, he proceeded to Cornwall, with a large sum of money and suitable introductions, determined, if possible, to discover a new vein of soapstone. After numerous unsuccessful efforts, he determined to suspend his operations for the time, and was riding from the boring by a difficult mountain road, to the nearest village. On a hill top, a signal appeared from one of the miners. The discovery had been made ; and a few weeks after, a vessel dressed in colours, entered the Old Dock at Liverpool, with the first cargo.

Fatigue and anxiety brought on a severe fever, at a country Inn in Cornwall, from which he recovered. Some years after, Podmore, his principal workman, was seized with fever, and Mr. Chaffers having gone to take leave of him, at his own request, was also seized with the disease. Both dying, the business was broken up, and ultimately transferred to Staffordshire. Mr. Chaffers possessed a great knowledge of the mode of compounding and applying colour ; and specimens of his work may still be seen at Knowsley, Wrightington Hall near Wigan, Moor Hall, and elsewhere. He was the maternal grandfather of Mr. Rosson.—ED.

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Abbotswich Church.

II.—ON SHOTWICK CHURCH AND ITS SAXON FOUNDATION,

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.

Shotwick is a parish in the hundred of Wirral and county of Chester; in which are included the townships of Shotwick, Capenhurst, Great Saughall and Woodbank. In the township of Shotwick are 570 acres of land, with a population of 100, according to the census of 1851; which shews a decrease of 12 souls, the number having been 112, as recorded in the census of 1841.

The termination of the name, Wick, refers to its having once been the site of Salt Works of some note; but they were only worked to a small extent, at the time when Leyland wrote his Itinerary, and have now totally disappeared.

At the time of the Conquest, we find recorded in the Domesday Book, "Sotowiche was held by the secular canons of St. Wereburg of Chester, from whom it was taken by William, and given by him to Hugh Lupus, who granted it to the Benedictine Monks."

The manor was held under the Abbots by a family who bore the local name of Sotowiche, and must therefore have belonged to the original Saxon stock; and in their holding, it continued until the reign of Edward I., when Alice de Shotwicke conveyed it away by her marriage to Robert de Hockenhall. In the 15th year of the reign of Henry VII. we find one of the Hockenhalls in a plea to a *quo warranto*, claiming in virtue of his holding Shotwick, the right of fishery in those parts of the river Dee, which ran past his manor, with the privilege of keeping "all that comes to the net," excepting and always provided against "the dainty bits, the whale, sturgeon, and thorlehedde," which were ordered to be reserved for the use of the Earl at Chester Castle; and in lieu thereof, the lord of the manor was allowed a certain fixed fee or reward. Shotwick continued in possession of the family of Hockenhall until the year 1715; when through the disturbances of the times and other adverse circumstances, the proprietors were obliged to mortgage the estate. Not afterwards being able to redeem

it from debt, the lands were sold, and became the property of John Nevitt Bennett, Esq., of Chester, in whose family it still remains.

The village of Shotwick, sometimes called Shotwick Church-town, is about five and a half miles distant from Chester, two miles from the old King's Ferry over the Dee, and nearly three miles from the Railway Station, at Sutton, standing on the banks of the Dee marshes. It was formerly in immediate proximity to its deep waters, but the silting up of that once fine river, making it requisite to form a new channel for the purposes of commerce, the water-course was so far removed from its original way, that it is only at spring tides and particular states of the wind that the waters now approach it. Even then, they do not do so to any great extent; so that in reality, the church is at the present time nearly a mile from the navigable channel of the river.

The church, dedicated to St. Michael, is a perpetual curacy, in the patronage of the Dean and Chapter of Chester, and returned in the clergy list of 1841 at the annual value of £88. The present incumbent is the Rev. James Cottingham. It consists of a large, square, well-proportioned, and embattled tower, a nave, a north aisle, a chancel, and a small chapel at the eastern termination of the aisle. The chancel is divided from the chapel by two low obtusely formed arches, springing from massive octagonal pillars; while the aisle and body of the church are separated by a range of four acutely pointed arches, resting upon octagonal columns of similar strength to those which intervene between the chapel and the chancel. The roof is open to the apex; very rude, but strongly constructed of oak: the timbers rest upon very large brackets, lying across the wall formed by the arches, which occupy nearly the middle of the church; and the ends of the brackets being ornamented with grotesque heads and leafage scrolls, the whole has a durable and rather picturesque appearance. The windows have been richly decorated with emblazonry, figures, and other devices on the glass; but only small fragments now remain, excepting in the side windows, one of which has the fleur de lis and other flowers repeated alternately in all the panes, whilst another of them is nearly filled with the initials T. A., apparently an offertory window, and supposed to refer to Thomas Abbas, Yerdsley. Of the original fabric very little now remains; it having been re-built externally in the fifteenth century, with the exception of the south doorway, which has a round arch, with three ranges of ornamentation, consisting of the quatrefoil, the chevron, and the

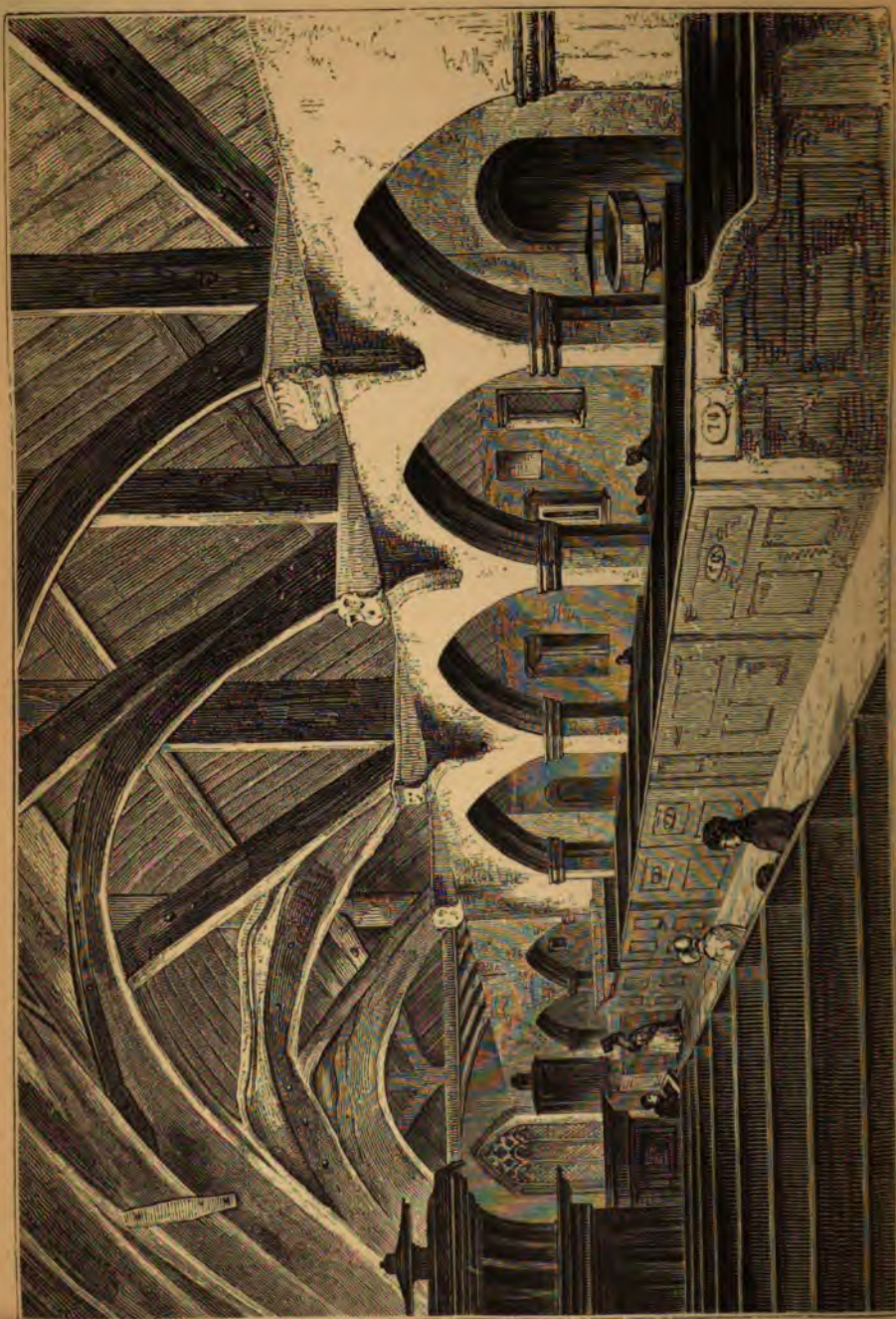


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Interior of **Abbatwick Church**: East End.

billet on the mouldings, which are in good preservation, but sadly obscured by the bad taste of some former churchwardens, in allowing a rude porch to be built against it, and the arch to be so often whitewashed with lime, as to fill up in a great measure the carved parts of the work. However, there is enough of them left visible, together with the massy columns inside, to claim for the original church a very remote foundation ; and I think I may safely say, a Saxon foundation ; for I do not agree with those who would rob our early churches of their fair claim to an existence prior to the Norman Invasion. Against this I would cite the example now before us, where we find a church in existence, and actually under the superintendence of a well organised body of men, who at the coming of William are in peaceful possession, but who are, in order to serve as a greater security to the holding of the usurped lands, driven from their rightful and long abode, their lands seized, and with them all their revenues confiscated, and given to others by the ruthless spoiler. I would ask, as we have undoubted evidence of the existence of a church at A.D. 1066, if it is at all reasonable to suppose that the Norman monks to whom it was transferred, would for the mere sake of having a church of their own building, pull down a well built temple, dedicated to the same saint whom they acknowledged as patron, to erect another, at much cost of both money and time ; more especially as we are told that their revenues were at that period but very small.

That the Normans after their arrival in England, did in many places erect new churches, and alter or enlarge others, is all very true, as may be gathered from original documents yet in existence ; but until we have better evidence than what has been brought to bear on the subject, in support of the theory that all our round arched churches were built by them, I shall be of the creed of those who believe that a great many edifices now remaining to us, were built by our Saxon forefathers long before the Norman invasion.

The assertion made by the advocates of Norman architecture, that all the Saxon churches were built of wood, is not tenable ; thanks to the researches of archaeological societies, and lovers of antique lore. They quote from the Charter of King Edgar (A.D. 973,) in which he states his intention of "rebuilding all the holy monasteries in the kingdom, which are visibly ruinous with mouldering shingles and worm-eaten boards, even to the rafters." " But though," says Mr. Ashpitel, in his valuable paper on

Repton Church and Priory,* and which I have much pleasure in referring to, "many buildings might have been of wood, we have positive proof that for many years a great many had been built of stone. Exactly five hundred years before the conquest, the church of St. Martin, at Whitehorn, was built, says Bede, of stone, an unusual method among the Britons."† In 627, Paulinus built a large and noble church of stone, at York, and in the next year, a stone church of beautiful workmanship, at Lincoln. In 652, St. Finan built the church of Lindisfarne. "Nevertheless," says Bede, "he made it after the manner of the Scots, not of stone, but of hewn oak." Surely this exception, "after the manner of the Scots," would prove rather that the manner of the English was different. A few years later, we meet with a curious passage in Bede, who states "that Benedict Biscop was about to build the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, and that he crossed the sea, and brought back with him masons to build him a church 'in the Roman style,' which he always admired."

Again, we are told that the Saxons were incapable of executing fine masonry; but if we may judge from the Anglo-Saxon MSS. still existing, especially the celebrated Pentateuch of Ælfric, and the elaborate designs in their jewellery; we there find diagrams of most intricate design, carried out in detail, with a precision that at once ought to deter writers from being too hasty in drawing conclusions, before more minutely studying their subject; and that the Saxon workmen did use carving at an early period is proved by the word "grefrætwan" used by them to express ornaments carved as fret-work.

On taking possession of Britain, after the Romans had left it, the Saxons must have found many temples standing; and the very houses which had been abandoned by their more civilised occupiers became their future habitations, built with all the elegancies of ancient Rome itself. They would naturally imitate those structures which they found so far superior to their own rude style; and so, we find in reality, that the Saxon architecture was founded on the Roman rather than the Norman.

The records of Shotwick are very few; but the church, as referred to in Domesday Book,‡ may be properly quoted. It runs as follows: "Ipsa ecclesia tenuit et tenet Sotowiche. Ibi una hida geldabilis; terra est

* Journal of the British Archæological Association, No. XXVII.

† Bede, Hist. Eccles. III. c. 4. ‡ Vol. 2, p. 263.



Saracen Porch of Shottwick Church.

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trium carucarum. lbi iv. villani, et ii. bordarii, cum una caruca, et una acra prati. Tempore regis Edwardi valebat xvi. solidos, modo xiii. solidos, et iii. denarios."

In an original MS. account of the possessions belonging to the Abbey of Stanlow, now in my possession, I find an entry relating to Shotwick in the "Extentus Regalis omnium ecclesiarum infra Archidiaconatu Cestriæ et decimarum de eisdem concessarum," as follows: "Decanatus de Wyrhall. Ecclesia de Shotewiche xii. manr., una decima xvi. una medietas viiid."

The church revenue was appropriated by Abbot Walter, 24 Henry III. towards defraying the increased expenses of his kitchen, in consequence of six monks having been added to the number before existing in the abbey.

In the 4th of Edward II., Robert de Hide, and Henry, son of William de Shotwike, being attached for brewing contrary to the assize, the Abbot claimed the right of punishing them, and of receiving the fine in his own court, as a privilege enjoyed from time immemorial over all the tenants of his manor of Shotwick. This court was held at Great Salghall, within the parish of Shotwick.

The cure of Shotwick was held for a few years by Dr. Samuel Clarke, the learned biographer and puritanical divine of the 17th century. He was maintained here by voluntary contributions, and drew enormous crowds together to his preachings and conferences; but was compelled to leave the place, after five years' residence, by a prosecution which was brought against him in the Chancellor's court for the omission of ceremonies. In 1661, he was deputed by the ministers of London to present an address against reordination, and surplices in colleges; and in the same year was appointed a commissioner for the reformation of the Book of Common Prayer. He was eight years a governor of Sion College, and two years President; and closed a life of piety in 1682, after having been ejected many years for nonconformity. This mortification he, however, bore with such tranquillity, that he attended his own church as a member of the congregation.

The works of Dr. Clarke are very numerous, and though little known, extremely valuable; they contain the essence of many abstruse writers, and a multitude of biographical anecdotes to be derived from no other source. He has also been attentive to illustrating them with portraits, which have added in no small degree to their price and rarity. The following list is given in a life written by himself.

The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, 4to., published in 1640 and 1650, reprinted in 1654, and in large folio in 1675. This was the first English collection of biography.

Lives of *Sundry Eminent Persons*, forming a third volume of the preceding work, published 1662. It was reprinted 1683, with a good engraving by White of himself, and another of his wife, who was daughter of Valentine Overton, rector of Bedworth, in the county of Warwick. Another engraving of him by Cross, is prefixed to the 4to. edition of his *Ecclesiastical History*, 1650; and a third to the edition of the same work published in 1675.

A general Martyrology, 1651, 1660.

An English Martyrology, 1652.

Cases of Conscience, 1659.

A Book against Toleration; a Life of Tamerlane; a Defence of Tithes; and a Description of the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands, were all published in 1675.

Lives of English Warriors, 1671.

God's Judgments against Persecutors, 1673.

An English Dictionary, under an assumed name, 1670.

A Mirror or Looking Glass for Saints and Sinners, 1646, 1655, 1657, and in 1671 a second volume. Of this work Mr. Chalmers observes, that "excepting Wanley's Wonders, and Turner's Providences, which follow his plan, I know not any book that contains an equal portion of the marvellous combined with the useful," and that "he must have turned over a prodigious number of volumes to accumulate such a mass of anecdote."

The Precedent for Princes, 1680.

A Book of Apophthegms, 1681.

It was in the parish of Shotwick that Mrs. Mary Davies, the celebrated horned woman was born. Her misfortunes are recorded in a pamphlet bearing the following title.

"A brief narrative of a strange and wonderful old woman, that hath a pair of horns growing upon her head, giving a true account how they have several times after their being shed grown again. Declaring the place of her birth, her education, and conversation, with the first occasion of their growth, the time of their continuance, and where she is now to be seen, viz., at the sign of the Swan, near Charing Cross.

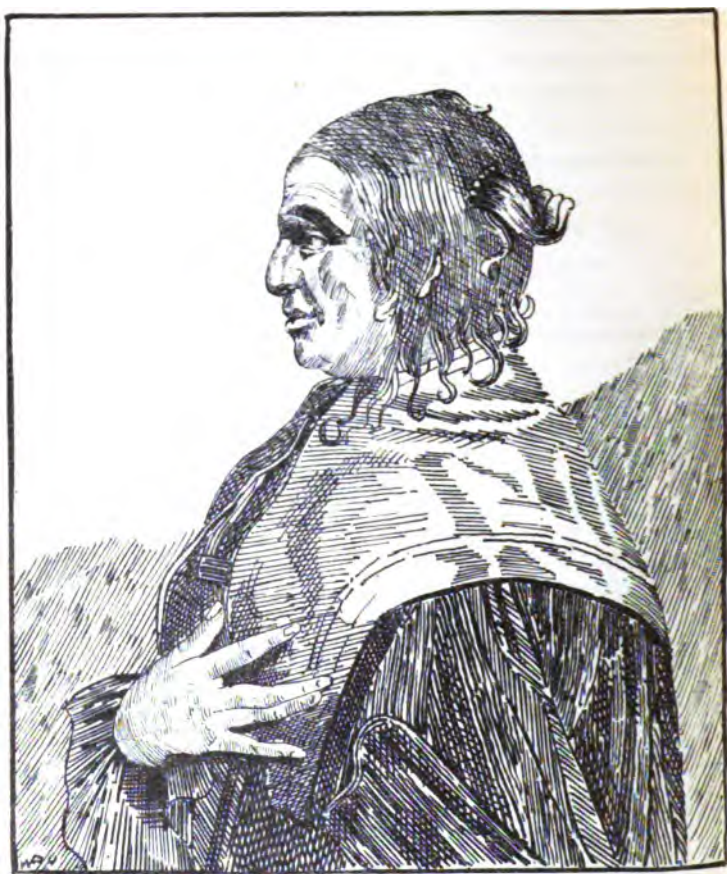
"You that love wonders to behold,
Here you may of a wonder read,
The strangest that was ever seen or told,
A woman with horns upon her head.

London: Printed by T. J., 1676, 7 pp. small 4to."

The pamphlet describes her as then 76 years of age, born and bred in the parish of Shotwick, and the renter of a farm of sixteen pounds per

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M^{RS} MARY DAVIS.

OF GREAT SAUGHALL NEAR CHESTER A^o 1668 ÆTATIS 74 WHEN
SHE WAS 28 YEARS OF AGE, AN EXCRESCENCE GREW UPON
HER HEAD, LIKE TO A WEN, WHICH CONTINUED 30 YEARS
AND THEN GREW INTO TWO HORNS.

annum, under the crown. Her husband, Henry Davies, had then been deceased 35 years, after which she had practiced the business of a midwife.

The first affection of her head began with a soreness and swelling, supposed to be occasioned by wearing a tight hat, which, after twenty years, assumed the form of a wen, and continued for five years longer, "after which time it was by a strange operation of nature changed into horns, which are in shew and substance much like a rams, solid and wrinkled, but sadly grieving the old woman, especially upon the change of weather."

"She hath cast her horns three times already; the first time was but a single horn, which grew long but slender as an oaten straw. The second was thicker than the former. The two first Mr. Huson, minister of Shotwick (to whose wife this rarity was first discovered) obtained of the old woman, his parishioner. They kept not an equal distance of time in falling off; some at three, some at four, and some at four years and a half's growth.

The third time grew two horns, both of which were beat off by a fall backwards; one of them an English Lord obtained and presented it to the French king; the other, which was the largest, was nine inches long and two inches broad. It is much valued for the novelty, a greater than any John Tradeskin can shew, or the greatest traveller can affirm to have seen. Sir Willoughby Aston hath also another horn dropped from this woman's head, and reserves it as a choice rarity. At this present time she hath a pair of horns upon her head of six months growth, and 'tis not without reason believed they will in a short time be larger than any of the former, for still the latter have exceeded the former in bigness."

Her horns are preserved in the Ashmolean and British Museums, and her portrait, which was engraved by Richardson, is given in Leigh's Natural History of Cheshire, taken in the 72nd year of her age, 1668. Another portrait is preserved at Doddington Hall; and a third in the British Museum, from which the accompanying wood block is taken.

FIFTH MEETING.

Royal Institution, 9th March, 1854, 1 p.m.

The Venerable ARCHDEACON BROOKS, V.P., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of two Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected Members of the Society :—

Henry Arthur Bright, Trinity College Cambridge, Sandheys, West Derby.

William Ithell Mason, 14, Lower Hope Place, Liverpool.

John Radcliffe, Eaton Cottage, Knotty Ash.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table :—

From the Photographic Society, Liverpool. Journal of the Society, No. II.

From Dr. Hume.

An Essay on "the two Ballads of the Battle of the Boyne," reprinted from the "Ulster Journal of Archæology" for January, 1854.

From Abraham Crabtree, Esq., through Saml. Gath, Esq. A small book, apparently an Oriental MS., found in the possession of the Blacks at Bahia, when they rebelled in 1834. It has been supposed to relate to their religion.

The following articles were EXHIBITED :—

By William Ithell Mason, Esq. Original Drawings, relative to Birkenhead Priory. This work received the prize in the Architectural Society, and is about to be published; the drawings being accompanied by letter-press descriptions.

By W. J. Roberts, Esq. Original Drawings of the Font at Kirkby, taken by H. C. Pidgeon, Esq., July, 1853.

The Secretary announced, that at a future day-meeting, the Saxon Antiquities recently purchased by Mr. Mayer would be exhibited, and a paper would be read descriptive of them.

PAPER.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ANCIENT FONT AT KIRKBY, IN THE PARISH OF
WALTON-ON-THE-HILL, LANCASHIRE.*By W. J. Roberts, Esq.*

In the summer of 1845 my attention was called to the subject of the ancient Font in St. Chad's Chapel of Ease at Kirkby, in the parish of Walton-on-the-Hill, by a late deeply valued clerical friend, one of the first architectural antiquaries of the day.* Accompanied by a friend, I made a pilgrimage to that sequestered spot, and sent the notes which I then took to Sylvanus Urban; and that gentleman, with that urban-ity which has ever characterized him, and has become proverbial, preserved them in the pages of his invaluable magazine.†

The then aged and worthy incumbent, the Rev. Mr. Cort, shewed us its resting place in the corner of a building adjoining the north side of the chapel, where it lay partially covered with planks, ropes, and tools for the sexton's use.

On observing its sculpture, we soon drew it forth, and were delighted to see a fine specimen of Saxon art, whose beauties were in a great measure concealed by accumulated coats of white-wash. Removing a portion of this from its surface, to enable me to sketch its details, their freshness led me to consider that we should tread lightly over the ashes of the conservators of such works; to whom, through successive ages, by the exercise of false taste, we owe their preservation, as is evident by the sharpness of those sculptures which have been restored to their pristine beauty on the removal of the covering.

The reverend gentleman shewed us, in an adjoining garden, a part of the base of the Font; on which we suggested to him to have these relics of ancient art removed into the vestry (as he did not entertain the idea of its restoration) to prevent further dilapidation.

* His labours consist of fifteen volumes of MSS. on "The Domestic, Ecclesiastical, and Monastic Architecture" of England, beautifully illustrated with original drawings and engravings.

† Gentleman's Magazine, October, 1845.

In July, last year, our Honorary London Secretary, H. C. Pidgeon, Esq., made the accompanying beautiful drawing of the Font. I feel great pleasure in stating that it has been carefully placed in its proper situation within the church, by the good taste of the present incumbent, the Rev. R. H. Gray, who has added to it a cylindrical shaft to raise it to a proper elevation.

On comparing the sculpture on this Font with that of other acknowledged works of the Saxon era, it evidently must be ascribed to that early period. The silence of the Domesday Survey respecting the chapel, which describes not only the property in this district at the time of the Conqueror, but also in that of Edward the Confessor, does not disprove the existence of a church here prior to the survey being taken. The name of the manor, and the dedication of the church to the patron saint of the diocese—St. Ceadde, who was made Bishop of Lichfield in the year 667, by Oswi, King of Mercia, in which kingdom this district was included—tend to shew its existence.

The Font, which is circular, is of stone, in accordance with the ecclesiastical law of the eighty-first Canon, which also directs that it should be placed near the western entrance, as typical of baptism being the entrance into the church mystical. Its diameter is sufficiently large to admit of baptism by immersion, as prescribed in the rubric, "the Priest shall dip the child in the water," a rule very much neglected, and that owing in many instances to the impossibility of doing so, in consequence of a mere basin or bowl being provided for that purpose. Through this neglect, affusion, which was the exception in case of a child being weak, has almost become the rule.

The order of the eighty-fourth canon has also been attended to in the formation of this Font, there being in the centre a perforation to carry off the water, on the removal of a plug after baptism; so that when required for the next occasion, the law of the rubric would have to be attended to, that "the Font is then to be filled with pure water."

" That baptismal well,
Which hath its source where Angels dwell :
At that blest fountain evermore,
Calm Faith and holy Hope do spring,
And Prayer bedews her wearied wing."

The design of the Font consists of a double coil of serpents; from the



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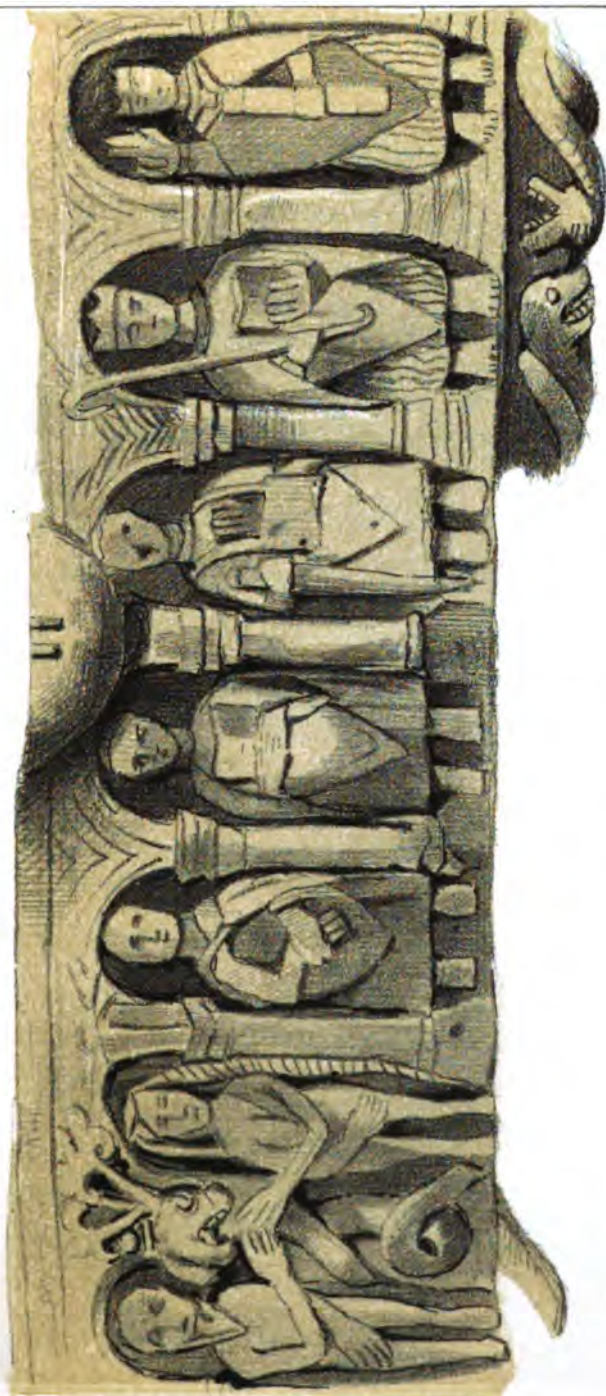
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upper one, which is considerably less in diameter, and which is above the shaft, issue three of their heads, in allusion to those enemies of the human race—the World, the Flesh, and the Devil. On these coils rests the upper part of the Font, which is circular. Its surface is covered with a series of arcades, consisting of ten irregular-sized compartments, containing figures in high relief. In three are the history of the fall of man and his redemption. (1) In the first is the fall ; in the centre of the panel is the tree of knowledge of good and evil, whose branches with fruit and foliage cover the surface of the arch. On the right of the Tree stands the Father of our race, with a pointed beard ; on the left, fair Eve, her hair braided in front, and twisted behind, from whence it falls over her left shoulder down to her feet. Round the trunk of the tree is coiled the serpent ; its head, which is well wrought, is turned towards Eve, regarding her presenting the fruit to Adam, who is receiving it. The sculptor has scrupulously adhered to the sad sequel of the subject, in the manner by which the figures evidence their knowledge of the transgression ; “and the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew they were naked.” (2) In the adjoining compartment Eastward, as “at the East of the Garden of Eden,” there is a winged figure looking towards the transgressors, and whilst with a sword raised in the right hand, prepared to fulfil the mission “to keep the way of the tree of life,” is with the other directing them to depart. (3) In the next division the figure is to represent the Saviour as the seed of the woman that should bruise the serpent’s head ; he is bending forward, and with great force, driving a spear with both hands into the head of one of the serpents, the largest that is rising out of the coil at his feet. In the other seven compartments there are single figures, draped in the costume of the Sacerdotal office slightly varied, consisting of the chasuble, beneath which is the alb. They appear to represent the seven orders of the clergy in the Saxon Church, according to the canons of Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury.* These were the Ostiary, whose duty was to take charge of the church doors and ring the bell ; the Lector, or reader of Scripture to the congregation ; the Exorcist, who drove out devils by sacred adjurations or invocations ; the Acolyth, who held the tapers at the reading of the gospels and the celebration of mass ; the Sub-Deacon, who produced the holy vessels and attended the Deacon at the altar ; the Deacon, who ministered to the Mass Priest, laid the oblation on the altar, read the gospel, baptized children, and gave the Eucharist to the people ;

the Mass Priest or Presbyter who preached, baptized and consecrated the Eucharist. Of the same order with the last, but higher in honour, was the Bishop.

(4) In the compartment on the Font opposite to that in which is the representation of the fall of man, there is a figure of a Presbyter or Bishop, giving the solemn benediction with the right hand; the two first fingers and thumb upraised, and the others bent within the palm. (5) In the next division to the left of this is represented a Deacon, with a staff and open book. The head of each of these figures is covered with an Amice; beneath their feet, from the coil, project the heads of two of the serpents, symbolical of the power given to the church to contend with, and overcome the spirit of evil. In the other compartments are the figures of (6) the Sub-Deacon, with the holy vessels; (7) the Lector and (8) Exorcist, each holding an open book; (9) the Acolyth and (10) the Ostiary attending the duties of their respective offices, with folded hands.

In closing these brief remarks on this work of ancient art, I hesitate not to say that a much clearer light may, I have no doubt, be thrown upon it, by further diligent research.



FIGURES ON THE FONT AT KIRKBY.

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SIXTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 6th April, 1854.

THOMAS MOORE, Esq., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of three Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected Members of the Society:—

Thomas Hughes, 13, Paradise Row, Chester.

John Gray Bell, 11, Oxford Street, Manchester.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

From James Boardman, Esq. Reports of the Liverpool Sailors' Home from its establishment.

From the Publisher, John Gray Bell. Abridged reprint of King's Vale Royal of England. By Thomas Hughes. Post 8vo., 1802.

Rustic Sketches, or Rhymes on Angling, in the Dialect of the West of England. By G. P. R. Pulman, 1853.

The True Use of Arms, by William Wyrley; reprinted from the original edition of 1592. 1853.

Pedigree of the Family of Scott of Stokoe. reprinted from the original edition of 1783. Edited by William Robson Scott, Ph.D. 1852.

The Heraldic Visitation of Westmoreland, made in 1615, by Sir Richard St. George, Knight. 1853.

From the Editor.

Documents relating to the Priory of Penwortham, and other possessions in Lancashire of the Abbey of Evesham. Edited for the Chetham Society, by W. A. Hulton, Esq., of Hurst Grange, Preston.

- From the Committee of the Royal Institution. Address to the General Meeting of Proprietors; delivered 10th February, 1854, by William R. Sandbach, Esq., late President.
- From the Cambrian Archæological Association. Archæologia Cambrensis for January, 1854.
- From the Author. Examination of the Theory contained in Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation; by the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., 16mo., 1845.
- From John Longton, Esq. A Dutch Tobacco box, taken with other spoils from a Dutch East Indiaman, by a Liverpool Privateer, off Mostyn Sands, in 1778.
- From J. J. Howard, Esq., F.S.A., Blackheath. Impression of a small Silver Seal, of the arms of the ancient family of Moore, of More Hall, near Liverpool.

The following articles were EXHIBITED :—

Mr. Benn forwarded the following articles for exhibition, in illustration of his own paper. A bronze adze, of primitive manufacture, to be used without a handle. A stone celt, chipped into form, but unpolished. Two other stone celts of rude finish. A stone celt of extremely small dimensions. Another, small and curiously perforated. A bronze awl, with a separable handle of stone, having a hole at each end for the insertion of the awl.

Mr. Broughton, of Bury, exhibited several elegant heraldic paintings, illustrative of the history of the royal arms of the United Kingdom.

Dr. Hume read and exhibited an original letter from a native girl in one of the Australian tribes. It was dated North Adelaide, 21st December, 1853.

Mr. M'Quie, in allusion to the system of carriage by land and water, drew attention to a work entitled, "Carey's Navigable Canals of Great Britain." 4to. 1795.

The Secretary having announced that Mr. Mayer had kindly offered to exhibit to the members of the Society, and their friends, at the earliest opportunity, the Faussett Collection of Anglo Saxon Antiquities, and that Mr. Wright, of London, had promised to write a paper illustrative of them, it was moved by Dr. Thom, seconded by David Lamb, Esq., and resolved unanimously :—

"That the Society having been made acquainted with Mr. Mayer's recent purchase and offer to the members, desires to express its gratification at such a valuable collection being brought to Liverpool; its sense of Mr. Mayer's great liberality in this, as in other instances; and its thanks for his kindness in offering to throw open the collection to the inspection of the members of their Society and others."

Two communications were read from James Boardman, Esq.

1. This was in explanation of a stone on which armorial bearings are engraved, and which has recently been inserted in the front of a cottage, belonging to John Moss, Esq., near Aigburth Church. The stone was originally inserted in front of a private residence on the north side of Water Street. The house was taken down in the latter part of last century. The stone was conveyed to Aigburth, probably by one of the Tarletons, and after remaining for several years suspended on the gable of the late Mr. Bailey's barn, it was presented to John Moss, Esq., Otterspool. The arms are Clayton* impaling Leigh; † and refer to the following marriage, which may be found in the Pedigree, Gregson p. 175.

William Clayton, Esq., of Fulwood, = Elizabeth Leigh, daughter of George Mayor of Liverpool, and M.P. for Leigh, of Oughterington, in Cheshire, Liverpool from 1698 to 1702, 1713 ob 1745.
and 1714, ob 1715; buried at St. Nicholas.‡

2. This states that the "alto relievo" of the Good Samaritan, by Deare, is the only one of his works in Liverpool. See page 74.

PAPERS.

I.—ON THE EDUCATION OF THE DEAF AND DUMB IN LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

By David Buxton, Esq.,

PRINCIPAL OF THE LIVERPOOL SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB.

The subject which I have undertaken to bring before the Society, is one which, in all its various relations, is of considerable extent; and, though personal circumstances may perhaps have a tendency to bias one's judgment in such a matter, I certainly think that it is one of great and rewarding interest. Some notion of its extent will be afforded by the mention of its divisions, each of which,—e.g., its history and statistics, its physiological and psychological bearings,—would afford ample materials for separate consideration. Leaving these, however, my present purpose is to deal chiefly with the local aspects of the subject; and following the track indicated in the title of our Society, to treat of the "education of the deaf and dumb in *Lancashire and Cheshire*."

* Ar. a cross engrailed sa. between four torteaux.

† Or. a lion ramp. gu. quartered with ar. five lozenges in bend sa.

‡ A monument to him was erected in St. Nicholas' Church; for the inscription on which see Gregson, p. 173.

This county contains two institutions for the deaf and dumb, in closer proximity than any other two, of equal extent and usefulness, in the world. Though locally situate in Lancashire, both of them are within a mile or two of its southern boundary, and are as available for the adjacent county of Cheshire as for this. Both were originated about the same time, though the Liverpool School was not opened as a separate establishment until the 18th of January, 1825, when the Manchester School had been in operation about a year. Thus, the county of Lancashire (and we may also add Cheshire,) has been in possession of its own local agencies for the education of its juvenile deaf and dumb, for thirty years. Previously to this date, the children of these counties, if educated at all, were sent to the Asylum in London; and from Cheshire some have continued to be so sent. The whole number of English pupils received into that Institution, from its establishment in 1792 to the present time, is 2468. Of these, 15 (three-fifths per cent.) belonged to Lancashire; and 24, (one per cent.) belonged to Cheshire.

The first steps towards founding the Manchester School, were taken in the course of the year 1823. It was established through the joint exertions of the late Mr. Robert Philips, father of the first member for the borough, and of the late Mr. William Bateman, a gentleman resident in Manchester, and engaged in a branch of the cotton manufacture there, two of whose children were deaf and dumb. Mr. Philips had been led to take an interest in the welfare of this afflicted class, in consequence of there being a deaf and dumb girl in his own neighbourhood, for whom he had wished to obtain admission into one of the Institutions already existing. Finding that this could only be accomplished, if at all, at great inconvenience, and after considerable delay, he conceived the idea of originating a local School, and on communicating his design to Mr. Bateman, that gentleman says, he "rejoiced at the proposal," and their combined exertions were forthwith employed to carry it into effect. The first objection which they met with, was the doubt whether a sufficient number of deaf and dumb children could be found, to justify the establishment of the projected School, specially for them. The same objection has had to be met everywhere. Deafness is not, like blindness, an *obvious* affliction. You may pass the mute daily, and not know that he *is* mute. The blind person is painfully recognized, under all circumstances, whether accompanied or alone. The deaf person is only noticeable when conversing by signs with those who understand that

language. This is by no means a frequent sight, even now, when educational agencies have been so long in operation, and the distance between the hearing and the deaf has been so marvellously lessened by instruction and training. But at the time we speak of, the deaf and dumb portion of the population were still more un-noticed and unknown than they are at present: and the doubt which the Founders of the Manchester School had to remove, was one which had confronted every other pioneer in the same work of mercy. De L'Epée encountered it, a hundred years ago; and it was shewn, to the amazement of the doubting, that there were then two hundred deaf-mutes in Paris alone. When, nearly forty years later, the originators of the London Asylum entered upon their work, they were told by one* who became afterwards one of the principal supporters of that magnificent charity, that "he had never seen a deaf and dumb child; and he thought the number would be too small to form the projected Institution." The increasing lists of candidates for admission into that Asylum soon shewed how utterly mistaken was this very common opinion. When, twenty-five years later still, "the establishment of the New York Institution was under consideration, the same objection was urged, and only obviated by researches which proved the existence of no fewer than sixty-six deaf-mutes in seven wards of the city, then containing a population of about one hundred thousand."† A similar investigation was set on foot at Manchester, after a meeting of influential persons had been held—on the 11th of June, 1823—and the proposals of Mr. Philips and Mr. Bateman had been laid before them. It was then very soon ascertained, from the various factories and schools in the district, that the number of the deaf far exceeded all anticipation. A like enquiry was made in Liverpool, about the same time, which brought to light the astounding fact that nearly one hundred deaf-mutes were then resident in this town and neighbourhood.

The School with which I have the honour to be officially connected was originated, and for some time exclusively maintained, by a single individual. That gentleman, having heard the Principal of the Institution near Dublin lecture upon the subject, received the impression that it was possible to educate deaf and dumb children "to a considerable extent, if sent, like others of the same age, to a common school, and taught substantially in the same

* The late Henry Thornton, Esq., M.P. See *Life of Rev. John Townsend*. London, 1828—p. 39.

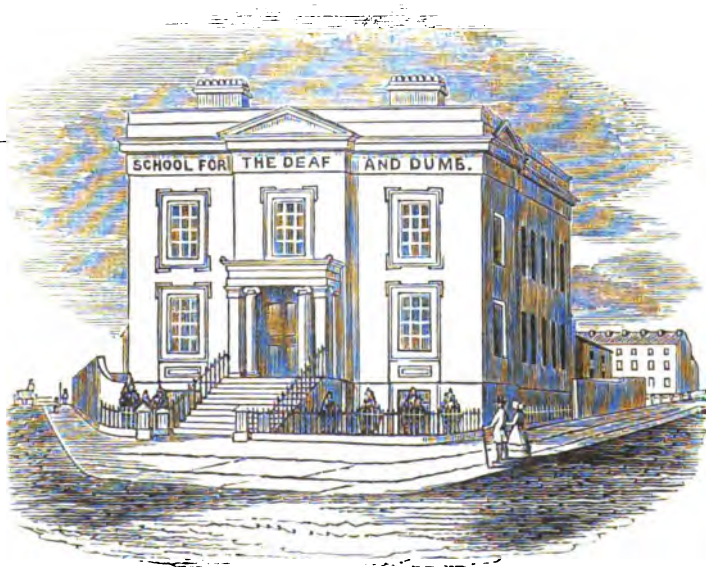
† Peet's "Statistics of the deaf and dumb, a Paper read before the Medical Society of New York, June 25, 1852," p. 7.

manner." The opinion, thus benevolently formed, conscientiously entertained, and zealously acted upon, though now proved and known to be quite erroneous, was, about that time, regarded with considerable favour. In Germany, the plan found such advocacy, that it was tried on a large scale in the Schools of Denmark and Prussia ; but, in this country, the experiment was confined to Liverpool. Four children were placed in one of the Day Schools of the town, where they remained under instruction about six months, but the difficulties which then became apparent, led to the abandonment of the scheme, and the organization of a special School for the instruction of the Deaf and Dumb. It was opened, as before stated, on the 18th of January, 1825, and at a public meeting held 3rd August, 1826, was formally placed "under the patronage of public benevolence, and its management transferred into the hands of an efficient Committee, by whom it might in future be governed and enlarged."—(*First Report*, p. 10.)

Both the Lancashire Institutions continued for some years to occupy buildings which were not originally intended for such purposes. But when, at length, the Schools became fairly established, their objects more extensively known, and their utility manifest, the necessity for special buildings was acknowledged, and in both places it was supplied, with equal promptness, and liberality. At Manchester, a fund of £10,000 was raised, for the erection of the present handsome edifice at Old Trafford. It forms the West wing of an extensive range of buildings, which includes the School for the Deaf and Dumb, the Blind Asylum, and a Central Church. The cost of these three erections,—for they are essentially distinct establishments, though apparently one structure,—was defrayed out of separate funds, the aggregate amount of which cannot have been less than £35,000. The first stone of the whole fabric was laid on the 23rd of March, 1836, by William Grant, Esq. That of the Liverpool School was laid—on the site of the old Botanic Garden, in Oxford Street East—on the 24th of October, 1839, by the then Mayor of Liverpool, Hugh Hornby, Esq., and on the same day, a Sermon was preached at St. Peter's (Parish) Church, in aid of the Building Fund, by the present Archbishop of Canterbury. The cost of the erection was about £6000; the site—2000 square yards—being the gift of the Corporation of Liverpool, with which was granted permission to sell the reversion of the lease of the premises previously occupied, and to add the proceeds to the Building Fund. The sum thus raised amounted



MANCHESTER SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB, &c.



LIVERPOOL SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB.



to £2,500. And I can further state, that the first donation recorded in the Reports of the School, was one of £300 from the same public body, given at the outset to start auspiciously the infant Institution, which, after the fluctuations and changes of thirty years, is now more extensively useful and more prosperous than ever.

During these thirty years, the two Lancashire Schools for the Deaf and Dumb have admitted 723 children, of whom

452 belonged to Lancashire.

84 „ Cheshire.

187 „ other places.

The present number of pupils in each is—in the Liverpool School, 60 ; at Manchester, 78 : a uniform excess of about one-third being due to the local position of Manchester, in the centre of the most populous district of the county. The number of Cheshire children educated there also exceeds those of the Liverpool School, in the proportion of 7 to 2 ; and this, too, is doubtless owing to the fact that those parts of Cheshire which are contiguous to Manchester are the places where manufacturing pursuits have congregated the thickest population.

The following table shews the number of pupils educated in each School, and their local appropriation :—

EDUCATED AT	LANCASHIRE PUPILS.	CHESHIRE PUPILS.	PUPILS FROM OTHER PLACES.	TOTAL.
MANCHESTER	242	65	106	413
LIVERPOOL	210	19	81	310
	452	84	187	723

These figures, cast into another form, exhibit the following proportions :—

	EDUCATED IN	
	LIVERPOOL SCHOOL.	MANCHESTER SCHOOL.
LANCASHIRE PUPILS.....	68 per cent.	58 per cent.
CHESHIRE PUPILS	6 „	16 „
PUPILS FROM OTHER PLACES ..	26 „	26 „
	100 „	100 „

The Devonshire pupils educated at the Exeter School are precisely in the same ratio as the Lancashire pupils educated at Manchester, namely,

58 per cent. Though the supply of Lancashire children to the London Asylum ceased, on the establishment of the local Schools, the admission of candidates from Cheshire has continued. I knew five such children there within a very few years. From the same county, four pupils have proceeded to the Birmingham School, (established in 1812), but only two from Lancashire. If, then, we may suppose that, in addition to the 84 Cheshire children educated in the Lancashire School, so many more have been educated elsewhere, as will raise this number to 100, and compare this total with the return of Lancashire children, we shall find that the proportion closely corresponds with that of the aggregate population of the two counties, as ascertained by the last census.

The population of Cheshire in 1851 was 455,725

„ „ Lancashire „ 2,031,296

the ratio being about 2 to 9 ; and the proportion of these 100 children of Cheshire, to the 450 of Lancashire, is exactly as 2 to 9.

Since the period when these Schools were founded, new Institutions have sprung up in other places, to supply the wants, not only of their own localities, but of neighbouring districts, from which originally children were sent to us. When the Manchester and Liverpool Schools were established, there were only two others in England : there are now twelve or thirteen. Four years after Lancashire had provided for her own wants, Yorkshire followed her example, by establishing the School at Doncaster. In 1839, the Institution for the Northern Counties was opened at Newcastle. And another, for the Principality of Wales, established at Aberystwith in 1847, now flourishes at Swansea ; to which place it was removed in 1850. The natural result is, that the area from which pupils were formerly received is considerably lessened, and the means of instruction afforded by our Schools are now applied chiefly to the supply of local wants.

It is not a little remarkable, however, that though new schools have from time to time risen into existence, and into active operation, the number of pupils in those previously existing has nowhere diminished. On the contrary, last year exhibited a simultaneous increase of applicants at most of the English Institutions. In that of Liverpool, the number of admissions exceeded those of any previous year since the school was founded. The following Table, which shews how many pupils have been received altogether into the larger English schools, will afford some evidence, both as to their necessity and usefulness :—

The London Asylum, established 1722 has had 2544 pupils.

„	Birmingham School	„	1812	„	380	„
„	Manchester	„	1823	„	413	„
„	Liverpool	„	1825	„	310	„
„	Exeter	„	1827	„	212	„
„	Doncaster	„	1829	„	430	„
„	Newcastle	„	1839	„	105	„
„	Brighton	„	1841	„	119	„

Until the Census Returns, relating to the Deaf and Dumb, are made public, there are no other means of ascertaining the proportion of the Deaf, in any given population, than by the commonly received rule that, in England, the number is as 1 in 1,600. If the aggregate population of Liverpool may be fairly stated at 400,000, this would give 250 as the number of the resident deaf and dumb, of all ages. If, further—as we may on good authority—we take one-sixth to be the number of those who are of the eligible age for admission—children between the ages of 7 and 14 years—we should expect that, if the local school is adequate to its purpose, it will contain, out of the sixty pupils, somewhere about forty-two Liverpool children. I have much satisfaction in stating, that that is precisely the number upon the Register at the present moment, and that it has been stationary at that point for some time past; the admissions of new pupils, and the departure of old ones, having just balanced each other.

The pupils of the Liverpool School are of two classes—Boarders and Day Scholars. At Manchester, as in nearly every other school, all the children are Boarders. If, on the latter system, the course of instruction proceeds without interruption, and its results are more uniform; on the former, its advantages are more freely and widely diffused. In a large and populous community, where, as is always the case, the majority of deaf and dumb children belong to the very poor, you must either admit them free, as is done in Liverpool, or stipulate for a payment which may never be made, and tolerate infractions of your rule which you know to be unavoidable, or else you must exclude such children altogether; that is, you must deprive of education those who most need education. The Liverpool School provides board and lodging for those who require such accommodation, and to those who do not, it affords its advantages free. It says in effect—“If we are put to any extra cost on your account, you must reimburse us: but the education we offer is a free gift, provided by the

beneficent of Liverpool." Acting upon this two-fold system, the School admits all comers. Fifty per cent. of the whole number in attendance are Day Scholars. Eighteen per cent. are maintained in the Institution as Boarders, by local parochial bodies. Others are paid for by their friends; and the total number of Liverpool children amounts to seventy per cent. of the whole. There is not, indeed, another Institution in the kingdom which can claim to be so emphatically a local School as these figures demonstrate the Liverpool School to be at the present time. In the Birmingham Institution, the proportion of the pupils who belong to the town and its suburbs is twenty per cent. of the whole; at Manchester it is twenty-three per cent.; at Newcastle it is twenty-five per cent.; in London it is higher, about one-third of the children generally belonging to the Metropolitan district. Speaking from recollection, I think the average proportion in that Institution may be accurately put at thirty-five per cent., an amount which, though strikingly higher than all the rest, the Liverpool School exactly doubles.

Like all our English Charities, and unlike the kindred Institutions of other countries, these Schools are supported by the voluntary contributions of the benevolent. In France and America, whatever is done for the education of the deaf and dumb, is done almost exclusively at the public cost. In this country, whatever is done for the same end, is done almost exclusively by private liberality. An examination of the most recent data shews that in the United States,* and in France,† the annual amount of public money thus applied is, in each country, about £24,000 sterling. The cost of this branch of education in Denmark, Prussia, Saxony, Baden, and other Continental States, is not known; but it is defrayed out of the public treasury. Amongst ourselves, the sum raised by voluntary contributions, and annually expended for this object, is £20,000 in England alone, the sums similarly raised in Scotland and Ireland being entirely omitted from the calculation. Under the various Acts for the relief of the

* "*United States.*" In his *Tribute to Gallaudet*, appendix, p. 101, Mr. Barnard, the Superintendent of Common Schools for the State of Connecticut, gives the following:—

Annual expense of Educating Deaf Mutes in 1851 \$150,000.

Amount paid by the State, or Funds set apart for that purpose \$120,000.

+ "*France.*" "L'Etat contribue, par une subvention annuelle de 270,350 francs, à l'entretien des deux Institutions nationales des sourds-muets." (Paris and Bordeaux.) *Des Sourds-Muets*, &c. par M. Hubert Valleroux, iv. 18. Paris, 1852—"Les Conseils généraux de l'Empire ont voté dans leur dernière Session en faveur des Sourds-muets une somme totale de 338,656 fr. 25 c. répartie entre les diverses Institutions départementales."—*Le Bienfaiteur des Sourds-Muets*, etc, No. 1, p. 32. Paris, 1853.

poor, which are now in force throughout the United Kingdom, Parishes and Unions are permitted to advance sums, for "the Deaf and Dumb, and the Blind." This permission has become, to some extent, generally acted upon, one-sixth of the Liverpool pupils being solely, and others partially, maintained from this source: but deducting the probable amount hence arising, I have found that not less than £20,000 is annually raised in England and Wales for the education of the deaf and dumb, from private beneficence alone. Of the Lancashire Schools the total income is about £2,500 per annum; the larger Institution of Manchester collecting about £1,400, and the Liverpool School £1,100.

The London Asylum has not for thirty years received any pupils from Lancashire. Two, since 1812, have been educated at Birmingham, and two more at the Yorkshire Institution, the parents of whom resided in that county while their children were in the School. It will thus be seen that the local establishments do effectually accomplish that for which they were especially intended; and that, if any one in their neighbourhood now grows up without education, the fault cannot be imputed to them. Wherever, from false economy, a deaf and dumb child is withheld from the advantages of instruction, it is not surprising if a heavier penalty follows. I may just mention, as an illustration of this, the case of a poor deaf and dumb man, at present imprisoned in one of the gaols of this county, who has never been in any school, and in whom, consequently, the limited mental faculties with which he was born have become almost extinct for want of exercise. An attempt has lately been made to afford him some instruction, but it is not to be wondered at, under all the circumstances, that it should have failed of success. He is however as happy as a comfortable animal existence can make him; but there he is, without hopes, or fears, or wishes, or purposes of any kind. He knows not where he is, or why, or whence he came, or his age, or his name, or that he *has* a name. When the sun is shining, and the sky is clear over his head, and he feels in common with all animated nature the exhilaration of these influences, he makes a sign, which those about him understand to mean a wish to go home, but that is all. He knows his own place in the ward, his own number among the prisoners, and his own work; he is harmless, orderly, and useful; he will go to the prison chapel like the rest, and take his Bible with him as they do, and as he has seen others put slips of paper between the leaves of books, to facilitate reference, he does the same; his Bible is full of these

marks, and yet not a single character in that blessed volume awakens any idea in his vacant mind. If he were not in prison, where he must continue for life, he would be in the workhouse, or would perish. He knows not, poor fellow, the difference between a prison and palace—they are alike to him—and when I saw him where I did, I said, that as he had been so neglected hitherto, though the inhabitant of a county where there have been for thirty years past two separate Institutions for the deaf and dumb, it was a happy dispensation of Providence which had placed him where so much better care could be taken of him, than he was capable of taking of himself.

It certainly does not follow, nor is it to be supposed, that the want of education will necessarily lead the deaf into crime. Mr. Wright, the well-known prison philanthropist, lately declared in a speech at Manchester, that in his experience of prisoners, (most of which we know is local,) he had met with one only who was deaf and dumb. But for want of education, even those who are well-disposed, must be an anxiety and a burden, either to their friends, or to the community, or both: and if from mismanagement they become vicious, the charge then becomes one for which the cost of early training would have been a most prudent and economical exchange.

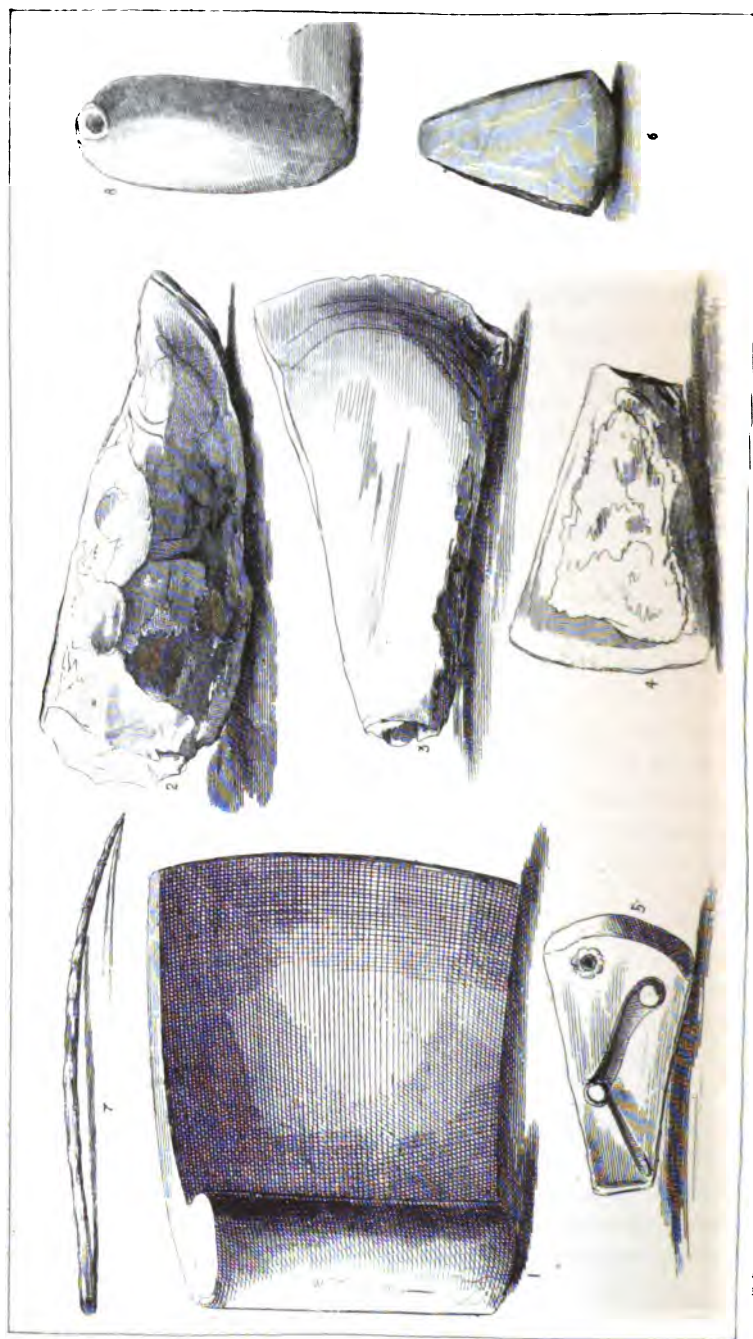
I wish, in conclusion, to add, that, for several facts in this Paper I am indebted to gentlemen connected with the various Institutions which have been mentioned, and especially, for the early history of the Manchester School, to my friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Andrew Patterson, the Principal of that Institution.

II.—NOTICES OF BRITISH ANTIQUITIES, No. 1.

By Edward Benn, Esq.

When so many are inquiring into and speculating on the state of civilization in Egypt, Assyria, and other countries, at a very remote period, it is singular that so little investigation has been directed to the condition of these islands previous to the historic period. It is generally considered that our ancestors, before the era of the Roman invasion, were mere bar-

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1. Large Kettle of bronze, of the age of the other, with a handle of wood, and a foot of ivory, from the site of the discovery. 2. Small bronze object, possibly a fragment of a vessel, from the same site. 3. Small bronze object, possibly a fragment of a vessel, from the same site. 4. Large bronze bowl, from the same site. 5. Small bronze object, possibly a fragment of a vessel, from the same site. 6. Small bronze object, possibly a fragment of a vessel, from the same site. 7. Large bronze bowl, from the same site. 8. Small bronze object, possibly a fragment of a vessel, from the same site. 9. Small bronze object, possibly a fragment of a vessel, from the same site.

barians ; but this does not appear to be the fact. In the absence of written records, we can only form an idea of the knowledge possessed by these early people, by an examination of such fragments of their works as have come down to us ; and the paper which I now offer, and which I will endeavour to follow up by others on the same subject, is little more than a brief statement of the circumstances connected with the discovery or finding of such early remains or fragments. It is hoped that others, who may be in possession of similar information, will add their contribution of facts, to assist in arriving at some definite knowledge on so interesting a subject.

The theory generally received, regarding the inhabitants of the British Islands, and other northern countries, does not appear to me to be a system so tenable as is generally supposed. It is that the weapons or instruments, either for war or domestic uses, which are discovered, indicate certain fixed stages or epochs of civilization, namely, that there was an age, and that the most rude and primitive, when stone was applied to these purposes ; then came another when brass was used ; and then a third when iron came into operation. I consider that Ireland is the best part of the empire in which to investigate this matter, because, not having been occupied by the Romans, nearly all the remains of antiquity which could have connection with this inquiry may be considered British, and in this point of view may assist in determining the difficulty which exists in England in ascertaining what relics are of British, Roman, or Saxon origin.

In Ireland, then, I have found articles of glass, iron, and bronze, in situations that would seem to prove their extreme antiquity ; while, on the other hand, those of stone are met with under circumstances indicating a more recent origin. Flint arrows, and such things, are found generally very near the surface of the ground ; while beads of glass or porcelain, of singular form and manufacture, are found in the subsoil ; and, if my information be correct, as to the place or position of their discovery, in the earth. It is reasonable therefore to infer that these are of higher antiquity than other works of art of more rude character. Articles of bronze or brass are also found under circumstances shewing great antiquity, and the same may be said of iron. Weapons, both of brass and iron, have been found in marl pits, in connection with the remains of the extinct fossil deer of Ireland. I have not heard of instruments of stone being found in such situations. Brass and iron instruments, of ancient character, are also known to be sometimes united by rivets ; besides, articles of brass, iron,

and stone, are frequently all found together. I have seen many stone hammers, and such like objects, in which the holes are bored with such smoothness and accuracy, that I can hardly think they were made with any thing else than an excellent steel drill. I do not deny the possibility of such work being done by a hard stone, but I cannot help thinking it improbable. The awl which I exhibit at least proves that those who knew the use of bronze did not disdain to apply a stone in connection with it, when convenient for their purpose. This very interesting, and I think *unique* specimen, was found near Randalstown, county of Antrim. It is of bronze, and has exactly the form and curve of the awl at present in use, but a natural stone is substituted for the handle, in which is a hole at each end. It altogether seems to shew a singular want of knowledge of working in wood, and of the most commonplace contrivance for fixing a very simple instrument in a handle.

It must be admitted that there are great difficulties in coming to a conclusion on the subject of the stone and brass ages. One of the greatest is to form an opinion regarding the stone celts, as they are called, which are complete counterparts in form and fashion of those of brass, which are so common. The stone instruments of this kind, however, are rare. I exhibit three. The holes and grooves in one of these are remarkable. Were they made in imitation of those of brass, by persons too poor to purchase the metallic article, or were the brass ones made in imitation of them? The stone instruments of this character are generally supposed to have been hatchets used in war. I would rather conjecture that they have been the every-day tools of a very primitive people. They are commonly about five inches long, and might have been used for cutting and skinning animals, splitting wood, and such purposes. They are found in considerable numbers in some localities, in the county of Antrim for instance. They are generally made of the hard basalt found in the mountain streams. I exhibit a specimen of one, out of about a dozen found neatly piled up together, several inches only below the surface, on the banks of a small stream in the townland of Legagrane, parish of Dunaghy, county of Antrim. I should suppose, from this circumstance, that these instruments were blocked out in convenient places, and carried away to be finished elsewhere. Those to which I refer seemed to have been prepared for removal, but to have been left behind from some cause. This is certainly the first germ of manufacturing industry and division of labour,

as it might be almost supposed that the person who searched the stream for the particular kind of stone required, rough-hewed it, and that it was then transferred to the hands of a more skilled workman. All this is at least probable, as it is not likely the same person would require a dozen celts. I also exhibit a very small specimen of the same character, which would appear to be of a size too inconsiderable to be at all used as an offensive weapon. It has been supposed that these stone instruments were attached to a handle. This does not appear to have been intended. Some few have been found with a hole for the reception of a shaft, but these are very rare. The habit of using instruments with the hand, without a shaft or handle, continued even with those made of brass, as in the case of the very rare bronze adze which I exhibit, and which was evidently used by the hand without a shaft.

It will be observed that I only make, in this paper, such desultory remarks as have occurred to me, as arising from circumstances that have come under my own notice, or that may be suggestive of inquiry to others, and that I do not aim at any distinctive theory on the subject. I merely wish to assert that the generally received system of the stone, the brass, and the iron eras, as illustrative of successive periods of time and civilization, cannot, I think, be well sustained; and that the use of instruments from all these several materials, was in reality to much extent co-existent. Those who have written so much about the Egyptians, and other nations of antiquity, have only exhibited to us these people and their works in a state of civilization, more or less. Did the old inhabitants of the east use stone and other rude materials for metal before becoming civilized? or how far distant from Britain have such things been found? It would be a most interesting subject for inquiry, if, in digging in China, India, or other early seats of civilization, any indications could be found of a people having at any time occupied those countries, so rude as to have resorted, as our ancestors have done, to the use of stone tools or weapons.

SEVENTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 11th May, 1854.

The Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of two Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected Members of the Society :—

Rev. R. Brooke Aspland, M.A., Dukinfield, Ashton-under-Lyne.
Ebenezer Henderson, LL.D., Greenbank, St. Helens.
Edward Hindley, Exchange Street East, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the Table :—

From Dr. MacIntyre.

A Burmese MS., found during the course of the present war, in a Pagoda at Rangoon.

From the Author.

A sketch of the History of the Church at Holmes Chapel, Cheshire ; by T. W. Barlow, F.L.S. Second edition, only seventy copies printed.

Memoir of the Poet, Dr. William Broome, with selections from his works ; by T. W. Barlow, F.L.S. Read before the Suffolk Archæological Institute, 27th April, 1854.

From the Society.

Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, vol. ii. part 1.

From Joseph Guyton, Esq.

The English Physician Enlarged ; by Nicholas Culpeper, Gent., Student in Physic and Astrology.

From Hugh Gawthrop, Esq.

Old Newspapers ; viz., the *Chester Chronicle* of January 1st, 1776, and July 15th, 1803 ; the *Chester Courant* of April 29th, 1806, and April 21st, 1818 ; the *Chester Guardian* of Sept. 20th, 1817 ; and the *Chester Chronicle* of June 5th, 1818.

The following articles were EXHIBITED :—

Dr. Henderson forwarded the following books, some of which are very rare. *Records Arithmetic*, bl. let. 1573; *Logarithms*, by Henry Briggs, Geometric Reader at Gresham House, London, 1618; *Cocker's Arithmetic*, 1619; *The Honour and Advantage of Agriculture*, by a Cheshire Farmer, Printed at Dublin 1764, (the first book ever printed in green ink); *Newes from the Stars*, or an *Ephemeris* for 1676, by William Andrewes, Student in Astrology; *Parker's Ephemeris* for 1752.

Dr. Kendrick exhibited a Copy Book of the time of Charles II, with very curious initial letters, and poetical copies. [See page 127.]

Mr. Whitehead exhibited a Russian Triptic, or amulet of copper. It folds into three parts; each containing a picture of Saints and a legend at top. There is a fourth representation on the back.

Mr. McQuie exhibited in illustration of some coins, the *Virtuoso's Companion* or *Coin Collector's Guide*; 6 vols. 16mo. bd. in 3, 1797.

Mr. Stonehouse drew attention to a portion of a thick leaden pipe, which had been gnawed through by rats, for the purpose of getting at the water within it.

In illustration of passing events, Mr. Stonehouse also read an extract from a newspaper of 1808, announcing the Russian invasion of Finland :

"The Emperor of Russia declares, 'That having contracted engagements which urgently call upon him to contribute all in his power towards accelerating a solid and lasting peace for the Continent of Europe, he feels himself under the necessity of taking provisional possession of Finland, until his Swedish Majesty shall think proper to adopt a new and wiser system of politics.' Previously to passing the Swedish frontier, he had issued proclamations addressed to the Swedes, inviting them to rebel against their King, and promising them that their diet should be frequently assembled, their privileges extended, and plenty flow in upon them."

In illustration of his own paper for the evening, Mr. Picton exhibited the following :—The *London Gazette*, No. 1934, from Thursday May 29th to Monday June 2nd, 1684; and No. 2011, from Monday February 2nd to Thursday February 6th, 1684. [February then followed May in the order of the months of the year] *Momus Ridens*, or Comical Remarks on Weekly Reports, 18th March, 1691. The *London Journal*, No. 128, for January 6th, 1721. The *Examiner*, by Swift, or Remarks upon Papers and Occurrences, from Thursday August 3rd to August 10th, 1710. The *Medley*, No. 3, October 16th, 1710. The *Athenian Mercury*, No. 16, May 21st, 1692. The *Flying Post*, or *Postmaster*, No. 3272, from Tuesday September 16th to September 18th, 1712. The *Lancashire Journal*, No. 56, with the History of the Holy Bible, July 23rd, 1739. *Owen's Weekly Chronicle*, or *Universal Journal*, No. 49, from Saturday March 3rd to March 10th, 1759. The *London Chronicle*, or *Universal Flying Post*, from Saturday July 11th to July 14th, 1761. The *Public Ledger*, No. 1225, December 10th, 1763. *Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser*, and *Mercantile Register*. vol. iii. 1758-59.

Play Bill of the Performances at Ranelagh Gardens, August 29th (1754?);

The Muses' Delight, or an Accurate Collection of Songs, &c. ; Play Bill of Performances at Drury Lane Theatre, 8th April, 1768 ; Ditto of Ditto at the Theatre Clayton Square, [Hamlet by Mr. Kemble], July 27th, 1789 ; Programme of a Lecture on Heads, by George Alexander Stevens, N.D. ; Judas Macchabeus, as performed at the Opening of the Organ of St. Peter's Church, Liverpool, 1766.

The following communication was read from the Rev. Wm. Thornber, B.A., of Blackpool, on CERTAIN ROMAN REMAINS, RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN THE FYLDE DISTRICT :—

"You perhaps may remember that I predicted in one of my Papers, read before the Society, that British and Roman Remains would be continually turning up near the ancient beach on Pilling Moss and along the agger in the Fylde.

"Some time back, a bronze medal of the size of a crown was picked up at Weeton, on the railway, by a labourer. This village adjoins the Roman station, but the medal may have been conveyed from Fleetwood along with the gravel in which it was found. With the exception of a portion it is in good preservation. The head in alto relievo is exquisite, being surrounded with this legend—IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AUGUST. and some other word beginning with what seems an M. On the other side are two naked Britons conversing, with caps on their heads, aprons round their loins, and sandals on their feet. The inscription I could not make out : a person, however, better acquainted with such things might be more fortunate. The finder of this medal regards it as an amulet, or I would purchase it.

"Another relic was discovered on Pilling Moss, in the immediate vicinity of the spot where the celts, etched in a volume of your publications, were dug up. It is a bronze arrow-head, the socket of which was injured by the eelspear that fished it out of the ditch. It is in the possession of Mr. Arminson, Druggist, Garstang. One somewhat similar was among the number of celts discovered at Winmarley, and now in the possession of J. Wilson Patten, Esq., M.P.

"I remember a Vespasian being picked up at Wood Plumpton, not far distant from the Roman causeway before it crosses Cadley Moor. In the Fleetwood set of coins also Vespasians were not uncommon. From their being found singly, may we not conjecture that the agger was in existence during his reign ?"

PAPER.

GLEANINGS FROM OLD LIVERPOOL NEWSPAPERS, A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

By J. A. Picton, F.S.A.

The contemporary accounts of Liverpool during the early and middle portions of the last century, are extremely meagre and unsatisfactory. The first history, that by Enfield, was not published till 1774, and although a very creditable performance, it presents little except dry facts. Derrick's letters, published in 1760, are lively and interesting, but very brief, and in many respects inaccurate. Williamson's Liverpool Memorandum Book, published in 1753,* Gore's Directory, first published in 1766, and a few incidental notices of the town in scattered publications, are nearly all the materials which exist for portraying the state and progress of the town during the period alluded to.

Previous to 1768 there was only one map of the town published, which dates from 1725. Slender materials these, certainly, from which to draw a living picture of society as it existed in this locality at a time so comparatively recent.

It may with truth be affirmed, that in many respects we know less about the state of our own town a century ago, than we do of Rome under the reign of Augustus, or of Athens at the time of the Peloponessian war. And yet, which of us would not like to know something more definite about the manners, habits, social condition, amusements, tone of thought and feeling of our great grandfathers and their contemporaries?

There is, perhaps, a greater chasm between the Liverpool of 1754 and 1854, than between the respective periods of any town in the kingdom. Any contemporary records, therefore, which tend to throw light upon the earlier period, must be an acceptable contribution to our local history. Such records are found in the early Liverpool newspapers, to which it is somewhat surprising that more attention has not been paid by our local

* See Baines's Liverpool, p. 416.

historians. Mr. Baines, it is true, has drawn many illustrations and facts of much interest from this source. His particular object, however, did not require any extended illustrations, or admit of regular classification. The series of newspapers from 1758 to 1768, appears also to be wanting in the files to which he has had access. Being in possession of the volumes required to fill up some portion of the *lacunæ* left by Mr. Baines, it has occurred to me that some interest and a little amusement may be afforded by the selection of a few gleanings from this comparatively unexplored field.

The newspaper, perhaps more than any other product of the human mind, presents the exact impress of "the form and pressure of the time" in which it is issued. It is a photograph, so to speak, of the particular phase which society is undergoing at the moment of its publication. The extent of civilisation, the degree of refinement, the amount of cultivation, the political feeling, the wants, the amusements, the literature, the religion, the trade and manufactures, the crime, the virtue, the benevolence of the age and place—all find their exact counterpart in the broad sheet which is the idol of a day, and then thrown aside and forgotten; and this all the more so, because it is unconscious and unintentional. Each man throws in his advertisement or his paragraph to the common stock to serve his own individual purpose, without the slightest regard or care as to the picture which the whole may present when resuscitated a hundred years hence. This it is which gives its lifelike truth to the aspect of society, exhibited in the old newspaper. Had newspapers existed in the ages of classical antiquity, it is not too much to say, that a single copy of the "*Herculaneum Gazette*," or the "*Pompeian Times*" would give us a better insight into the daily life of the ancients than has been done by all the treasures of art brought to light in the buried cities of antiquity just referred to.

Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser was first published on the 25th of May, 1756. Its proprietor and editor was Robert Williamson, who had his shop in Castle Street, not far from the *locale* of the lineal descendant of the *Advertiser*, the *Liverpool Times*. Mr. Williamson seems to have been a man of multifarious occupations. He was a printer, bookseller, stationer, editor, publisher, agent for the State Lottery Office, and, in addition, carried on business as a general broker, sometimes selling by auction, and at other times offering by private treaty Cognac brandy, Madeira wine, logwood and fustic, indigo and tar, even condescending sometimes upon "parcels of

boots and shoes," and a "genteel chaise" to be sold. When to these occupations a house agency was added, it must be admitted, that for a comprehensive establishment, these degenerate times can hardly afford a parallel. The newspaper itself was a small folio of four pages, each page considerably less than half the size of our modern newspapers. It was originally sold at 2d., the stamp being a halfpenny; but on the 17th October, 1760, the following announcement stands at the head of the paper:—

"The publisher of this paper begs leave to return his grateful thanks to his friends and readers in the northern parts of Lancashire, for their kind indulgence in promoting and encouraging this paper; and as he has been at the continued expense of expresses to meet the London post, in order to be as early with the news as possible, and messengers to distribute the paper, which have entirely taken away all profits arising from the sale, he presumes that his customers in Ormskirk, Preston, Lancaster, and adjacent neighbourhoods will further indulge him by advancing the price of the paper to 2½d., as no other newspaper in England, of the same size and matter, is sold under that price."

There is no leading article, nor any expression of political opinion by the editor. No parliamentary proceedings are given, except a very occasional notice of the most timid description. The principal attention seems to have been devoted to foreign news, especially from the seat of the war then raging in Germany and North America. Occasionally woodcuts and maps were given to illustrate the occurrences related. Public events, copied, probably, from the London newspapers, are given at some length. The capture of Louisburgh, the campaign in Canada, and death of General Wolfe, the trial of Lord George Sackville for his conduct at the battle of Minden, and that of Earl Ferrers for murder, are given at considerable length. The most singular deficiency is in the department of local news, which is meagre and unsatisfactory. The strife of party, local and political, the collision of opinion on municipal affairs, the correspondence and controversy, which form such a conspicuous and interesting part of our modern Liverpool newspapers, seem scarcely to have had an existence a hundred years ago. Sometimes a passing glimpse is obtained of the workings of Liverpool society, which causes regret that we have not more information afforded on the subject.

The advertisements are not numerous, but afford very valuable information on the state of the town at the time, to which we will now proceed to refer.

First, let us take a glance at the extent and external aspect of the town, as it appeared about the year 1757. Perry's large map, published about twelve years afterwards, enables us very accurately to estimate its extent, by making due allowance for the building which had taken place in the interval. Prussia Street and St. Paul's Square were the boundary to the north, and Mason Street to the south. Eastward of Whitechapel and Hanover Street there was very little building, and that little thinly scattered. Within this circuit, the buildings were far from being as crowded as they now are. It is true that the streets were narrow, but this was compensated by the extent of open garden ground behind—"backsides" as they were called, in the phraseology of the time. Here, for instance, is an advertisement on the 8th September, 1758:—

"To be let for a term of years, a commodious dwelling house, sashed, situate in Dale Street, near the Exchange, now uninhabited, in possession of widow Haynes, consisting of eleven yards to the front, and 150 yards backwards, containing four large rooms on a floor, two parlours, and a large dining room to the street, a good stable, brewhouse, and gateway for a carriage: a garden upwards of 100 yards long. For further particulars inquire of widow Haynes, or Mr. John Tyrer, sadler, in Dale Street."

Again, on the 16th of March, 1769:—

"To be let for a term of years, two fields or closes of land, near St. Peter's Church, commonly called or known by the name of Williamson's Field. For further particulars apply to Mr. Thomas Crook."

The population of the town at this time was not more than 30,000. Its general aspect was that of a respectable country town. Gardens and verdure peeped out in every quarter, and green fields were within a few minutes' walk in any direction. Nor were there wanting pleasant places of public resort. At the north were the Ladies' Walk—with its stately avenue of trees commanding a magnificent view seaward—and Maidens' Green, the favourite resort of lovers. Along the line of Duke Street was another public avenue, shaded by trees. Bowling greens, of which there were four or five, attracted the male part of the population. Ranelagh Gardens, which occupied the site of the Adelphi, were first opened in 1759. At first they would seem not to have succeeded, for we find on the 13th of June, 1760, the following advertisement:—

"To be sold by auction, on Monday, the 14th day of July, at the Golden Fleece, in Dale Street, all that messuage or dwelling house, with the outbuildings and large garden thereunto belonging, situate at the upper

end of Ranelagh Street, commonly called and known by the name of the White House or Ranelagh Gardens, &c."

On the 18th of July we find the following announcement :—

"For the benefit of Mrs. Ellis, *alias* Baptist, and Mr. Lava, at Ranelagh Garden. On Tuesday, 22nd instant July, will be performed, a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music. Tickets to be had at the Talbot, Golden Lyon, Fleece, Pontack's Coffee House, and Mr. Williamson's shop, at one shilling each."

The proportion of respectable houses, as compared with the lower class, was much greater a hundred years ago than at present. The merchant had his establishment complete on the spot where he resided. Here, for instance, is an advertisement on the 15th February, 1760 :—

"To be let, in Oldhall Street, Liverpool, a large, commodious house, now tenanted by Mr. Matthew Strong, merchant, containing four rooms on a floor; with a counting house, a two stalled stable, and a warehouse wherein may be laid 70 hogsheads of sugar on a floor, and a large, commodious yard, with a coach or cart road to it."

In the higher part of the town a good garden was generally connected with the house, as in the following, dated 14th September, 1759 :—

"To be sold by auction, at the Merchants' Coffee House, &c., all that messuage or dwelling house, warehouse, and garden, situated in Hanover Street and Peter's Lane, and late in the possession of John Colquitt, Esq., deceased."

This garden, which extended along the west side of Peter's Lane, is now built on, but the dwelling house and warehouse remain, and give a good idea of the mercantile establishments of the olden time.

At this time, and for long afterwards, the supply of water to the town was scarce and dear. Advertisements such as the following are not uncommon. Nov. 17, 1758 :—

"At Edmund Parker's pump, on Shaw's Brow, may be had water at 9d. per butt, for watering shipping or sugar houses; and is as soft for washing, boiling pease, &c., as any in the town. Any merchant or captain of a ship, &c., sending to his house, next to Mr. Chaffer's china pothouse, may be served immediately by their humble servant, Edmund Parker."

In selling property, the supply of water for sale was considered a great recommendation. For instance :—

"To be sold, to the highest bidder, August 14, 1759, two dwelling houses at Bevington Bush, with a well of good water that will supply five or six carts, and a gin pump, &c."

The principal streets for shops were Castle Street, Pool Lane, High Street, Redcross Street, and James Street. Redcross Street especially seems to have been rather a fashionable resort. Thus we find on Nov. 16th, 1759 :—

“ R. Yates, successor to the late Mr. Whitfield, begs leave to acquaint the ladies and gentlemen, that they are returned from Chester fair, to their warehouse, the Golden Key, in Redcross Street, Liverpool, and have as usual a very large assortment of the newest patterns of millinery and linen drapers' goods, which will be sold, wholesale and retail, on the lowest terms, and as cheap as in London.”

Many names of streets, familiar as household words a hundred years ago, are now utterly forgotten. Patten's Garden, Pluckington's Alley, Turpentine Alley, Gorrell's Yard, Old Shambles, with many others, have been long ago swept away ; and it would be a difficult undertaking at the present day to ascertain their site.

From the streets and houses in which the actors on the scene of human life a century since fretted and strutted their little hour, turn we now to the actors themselves. Their names in the advertisements and news strike the reader at first with a strange difference to those of the leading characters of the present day. Some we find identified with the history of the town, though no longer connected with it, such as Tarlton, Cunliffe, Colquitt, Gildart, Shaw. Others there are whose names are conspicuous in the newspapers a hundred years since, and whose descendants still fill positions in the town of credit and respectability. Of such are the Earles, Drinkwaters, Heywoods, Lowndeses, Blundells. Amongst the principal merchants were Alderman Charles Goore, who resided in the Old Churchyard ; Alderman John Tarlton, who lived in Water Street ; John Crosbie, mayor, in 1766, who resided in Paradise Street ; Arthur and Benjamin Heywood, in Hanover Street ; William Earle, Redcross Street ; Bryan and Jonathan Blundell, in Water Street and Chapel Street.

The town was then, as now, principally dependent for support upon its shipping and commerce—not, however, as exclusively so as at the present time. Liverpool had been, and continued to be, down to the middle of the 18th century, the habitat of many persons of independent means, who probably selected this town for its pleasant rural site and contiguity to the sea. Hence the proportion of respectable houses was much greater than has been the case since. Various manufactories were carried on, with more

or less success, of a much more miscellaneous character than at present. On the 8th September, 1758, it is advertised that the Liverpool china manufactory have removed their warehouse to the top of Castle Hey (now Harrington Street), where they sell both wholesale and retail. On the same date it is also announced that "the stocking manufactory, which has been several years carried on at the bottom of Atherton Street, is now removed near the Exchange, where all kinds of silk, cotton, thread, and worsted goods in the hosiery way, for exportation or home consumption, *are made* and sold, wholesale and retail, at the lowest price." Other advertisements refer to sundry potteries and glass works, besides sugar bakeries, slitting mills, salt works, &c.

It is patent to all the world that one main cause of the rapid progress of Liverpool in the 18th century was the lucrative traffic in negro slaves from Africa to the West Indies. The newspapers contain comparatively few references to this traffic. The following advertisement would seem to imply that the negro was treated as a chattel in this country. It is dated 8th September, 1758 :—

"Run away from Dent, in Yorkshire, on Monday, the 28th August last, Thomas Anson, a negro man, about 5 feet 6 inches high, aged 20 years and upwards, and broadset. Whoever will bring the said man back to Dent, or give any information that he may be had again, shall receive a handsome reward, from Mr. Edmund Sill, of Dent; or Mr. David Kenyon, merchant, in Liverpool."

The foreign and colonial trade of Liverpool in the middle of last century was almost exclusively confined to the West Indies and North America. The tonnage was generally small, seldom exceeding 300 tons, but more frequently from 150 to 200 tons burthen. The import of Cotton from America, which has since attained such gigantic dimensions, did not at this time exist. The only advertisement I can find of the period, referring to this subject, is one on the 3rd November, 1758 :—

"To be sold by auction, at Forbes and Cambell's sale-room, near the Exchange, this day, at one o'clock, 25 bags of Jamaica cotton, in five lots."

Trade was at this time ruinously interfered with by the war with France. French privateers swept the channel, hovered between the mouth of the Mersey and the Isle of Man, and carried off many a rich prize bound for this port. In self-defence, privateering was taken up by the Liverpool merchants, and a desperate game of hazard was carried on, with varying

success, and many sudden turns of fortune. Numerous illustrations of this excited state of things are met with in the newspapers of the day. On the 8th September, 1758, occurs the first notice of the celebrated Monsieur Thurot :—

“ It is reported that the brig Truelove, of Lancaster, and the brig Jane, of Lancaster, had been taken off Lough Swilly, by the Marshall Belleisle privateer, of St. Maloes, of thirty 12-pounders on one deck, eight 6-pounders on the quarter deck, four on the forecastle, and four 18-pounders below, Captain Thurot, Commander.

The same paper contains the following advertisement :—

“ For a third cruise against the enemies of Great Britain.—The ship privateer Liverpool, under the command of Captain John Ward, and will be ready for sea as soon as possible. She carries 22 guns (18 of which are 12-pounders), and 160 men. All gentlemen, seamen, and others who are willing to try their fortunes, may apply to the Commander, or Mr. Henry Hardware, merchant.”

On the 15th of September, 1758, appears the following statement :—

“ On Saturday last, Captain William Hutchinson, late commander and part owner of the Liverpool privateer (notwithstanding he had appointed his lieutenant to the command of the ship, intending to stay at home, in order to forward his scheme of supplying this market with live fish,) proposed to undertake the command of her once more, and attempt to curb the insolence of Mons. Thurot, of the Marshal Belleisle privateer, cruising in the North Channel to intercept the trade of this neighbourhood ; upon which the principal merchants generously opened a subscription to indemnify the owners of the privateer, and to advance each seaman five guineas in hand for one month's cruise, exclusive of their right to the customary shares of prize money. Notwithstanding 207 seamen had signed the articles, yet as soon as the ship was ready for sea on Tuesday, only 28 appeared, which obliged the subscribers to drop the cruise, knowing that unless she got out immediately it would be impossible to execute the proposed expedition in time.”

The cruise was accordingly abandoned, the ship Liverpool was sold by auction on the 12th of April, 1759, and was subsequently employed, as appears from advertisements, in the trade between Liverpool and New York. Mons. Thurot continued his depredations in the channel with impunity. He is heard of from time to time “ picking up a great many of our merchantmen,” whilst the British fleet was lying in harbour deliberating what course to adopt. On the 21st of February, 1760, he attacked the town of Carrickfergus, which, with its garrison, was obliged to capitulate and pay a heavy ransom. His career, however, was drawing to a close. On the 4th

of March he was attacked off the north-west coast of the Isle of Man, by Capt. Elliott, with a squadron of three vessels, when M. Thurot was killed, and his vessels taken. Two paintings were prepared of this engagement by Mr. Richard Wright, formerly of Liverpool, from which prints were engraved and published, and may now occasionally be met with.

During the time when the French fleet were sweeping the channel, great alarm was naturally felt by the inhabitants of Liverpool. The proceedings then adopted may not be without interest at the present time, when the question of defences for the port and shipping has obtained a serious aspect. We read in the *Liverpool Advertiser*, of November 9, 1759 :—

“ On Sunday evening the account of a French squadron being sailed from Dunkirk, destined for the North Channel, arrived here ; upon which Lawrence Spencer, Esq., mayor, convened the gentlemen merchants and tradesmen at the Exchange, to consider of putting the town immediately into a proper state of defence against any sudden attempt of the enemy, when it was unanimously resolved to ‘ enter into an association, and subscription for defending the town in the best manner,’ and a committee of gentlemen was appointed to manage the whole. Expresses were that night despatched to his Majesty praying for a commission to be granted to the mayor in the same manner as was done in the year 1745, and as soon as the commission comes down it is proposed to raise at least 20 companies of 100 men each. At the request of the committee a return of the muskets in the hands of the merchants and dealers has been made, and it is found that on an emergency upwards of 4000 men may be completely armed, exclusive of the arms in private persons’ hands ; and it is expected that the gentlemen of the field and saddle will form themselves into squadrons of light horse, being at least 500 strong. Pilot boats have been sent out and properly stationed to give the earliest intelligence in case of the enemy’s steering this course, and regular measures concerted to destroy on their approach all the buoys, and blow up the landmarks leading into the harbour. To-morrow being Saturday, November 10, the anniversary of the birth of our most gracious sovereign George II., the five new batteries will be opened, and a royal salute given on the occasion. They are deemed the completest of the kind in England, and were erected at the private expense of the gentlemen merchants and tradesmen, who voluntarily opened a subscription for that purpose, and consist of two *batteries d’enfilade*, scouring the whole river ; a *battery en charpe*, which plays obliquely ; a *battery par camerade*, so contrived as to fire at the same time upon one body ; and a battery in form zigzag, making several angles, completely sheltering the garrison from being enfiladed or fired on in a straight line. This week upwards of 70 heavy cannon have been mounted on the platforms, and several hundred men employed in completing them.”

Privateering at sea, and parading on shore, at this period occupied no small share of the time and attention of the inhabitants. The appearance

and costume of the independent companies, as they were called, raised by the town, will be shewn by the following paragraph. dated March 14th, 1760 :—

“ On Tuesday last, Col. Spencer's, Captain William Ingram's, and Captain John Tarleton's independent companies of this town, were reviewed by the Right Hon. the Earl of Scarborough, in Price's (now Cleveland) Square, and went through the manual exercise, platoon and street firing, &c. The companies were all clothed in their new uniforms, at their own private expense ; the Colonel's company in blue, lapelled and faced with buff ; Captain Ingram's in scarlet coats and breeches, lapelled and faced with green ; green waistcoats, gold laced hats, and cue wigs ; and Captain Tarleton's in blue, with gold vellum button holes ; Captain Thomas Johnson's company of the train of artillery wear the uniform of the navy, blue and buff, with gold laced hats.”

It has been frequently asserted that the merchants of Liverpool greatly enriched themselves in the last century by the practice of privateering. At a subsequent period this may to some extent have been the case, but for several years after the breaking out of the war, the results to the Liverpool merchants were most disastrous. From a list published in July, 1760, it appears that in four years, ending at that date, there had been taken by the French, of vessels *belonging to Liverpool alone*, the number of 143 ! The tonnage is not given, but as they were all sea-going vessels, principally in the West Indian and American trades, the losses must have been enormous.

We will now turn our attention to the indications as to the state of social life which our file of old newspapers presents. The lapse of a hundred years has made prodigious advances in every department relating to the convenience and intercourse of society. In nothing is this advance and improvement more visible than in the means of travelling and locomotion. The steamboat, the omnibus, the railway, have become not mere luxuries reserved for the wealthy, but absolute necessities for all classes, without which the ordinary intercourse of society could not be carried on. Let any one endeavour to calculate the annoyance, the injury, the absolute pecuniary loss which would be sustained in the town of Liverpool by the suspension of passenger traffic for a week, or even for a single day, and he will find the sum total frightful to contemplate. Far different was the state of things a century ago. It is difficult at this time of day to conceive of a commercial town with a population of 30,000 inhabitants, prosperous and progressive, without a single public conveyance ; yet such was

the actual case with Liverpool less than 100 years ago. Prior to 1760, there did not even exist a road decently fit for wheel carriages nearer than Warrington. Persons visiting the metropolis had to ride on horseback to Warrington, where they had the opportunity of proceeding on by the means described in the following advertisement, which first appeared on June 9th, 1757 :—

“The Warrington flying stage coach (in three days) sets out every Monday and Thursday morning, from the Bell Inn, in Wood Street, London, and the Red Lyon Inn, in Warrington, during the summer season, and arrives at the above inns every Wednesday and Saturday evenings. Each passenger to pay two guineas; one guinea to be paid at taking place, as earnest, and the remainder at taking coach. Each passenger to be allowed 14lb. weight luggage, and all above to pay 3d. per lb. To be performed, if God permits, by Thomas Whalley, Anthony Jackson, and Henry Secrett.”

Goods for Manchester and the metropolis were forwarded by river boats to Bank Quay, Warrington, and from thence by waggons on the high road.

The first indication of the high road from Liverpool to Warrington being open for wheel carriages is contained in an advertisement on the 18th July, 1760.

“Post chaises and able horses to be had to any part of England, by applying to Mrs. Rathbone, at the Golden Talbot Inn, near the Exchange, Liverpool.”

It was some time after this before a stage coach was established from Liverpool. The first announcement of a public conveyance to Manchester is the following, from the *Advertiser* of September 19, 1760 :—

“Manchester, Warrington, Prescot and Liverpool machine sets out on Monday, September 1, 1760, and on every Monday and Thursday morning, at six o’clock, from Mr. Budworth’s, the Bull’s Head, in Manchester; will call at the Red Lyon, in Warrington; at Mr. Reynolds’s, the Old Legs of Man, in Prescot; and lies at Mr. Banner’s, the Golden Fleece, in Liverpool. Returns from thence every Tuesday and Friday morning, at six o’clock, and calls at the above places on its way back to Manchester. Each passenger to pay 8s., and so in proportion for any part of the road.”

The “flying machines,” as they were called, continued to occupy three days in the journey from Warrington and Manchester to London, until August, 1760, when the journey was first to be performed, according to an advertisement of August 1st, in two days. In 1766, there were two stage coaches from Liverpool to London, performing the journey in two days in summer and three days in winter.

Extending our view to the state of morals and manners, the security for persons and property must have been deplorably feeble, and the police of that day in a most inefficient state, to judge by the multitude of announcements and advertisements of highway robberies, horses stolen, persons breaking out of prison, deserters, apprentices running away, &c. A few specimens of these may be quoted as a sample of the rest. On the 11th of April, 1760, it is stated that "The frequent robberies, shoplifting, and housebreaking, in this town of late, if recited, would take up a considerable part of our paper; and it is with concern that we see no methods hitherto attempted have found out the delinquents. In several other places, there are subscriptions and associations fixed, who employ thief-takers, and allow handsome premiums for the discovery of any offender. It is proposed this day to open a subscription, a book for that purpose being left at R. Williamson's shop; and to appoint a committee out of the principal subscribers, to settle the plan, &c. There is at present a standing order of vestry, to prosecute all robbers, shoplifters, and housebreakers, at the parish expense, when discovered."

Here is the portrait of a pair of worthies taken on the 11th of January, 1760 :—

"Broke out of Lancaster Castle, by knocking down and dangerously wounding the turnkey, on the 12th of December last, about eight o'clock in the evening, William Roughsedge, late of Prescot, in this county, by trade a shoemaker, about 30 years of age, broad sett, middle sized, very black complexioned, a scar above his left eye, several on his head, wide mouth, with a remarkably rough voice; had on when he went away a bad hat and black wig, a dark coloured thick-set fustian coat, a pair of leather breeches, and grey woollen yarn stockings. Also,

"John Davenport, of Liverpool, mariner, about 40 years old, about six foot high, well made, dark brown complexioned, spare thin visaged, a dimple or cut in one cheek, his left leg something thicker than his right one; had on when he went away a dark brown cut wig, no hat, two coats, the top coat blue, with yellow metal buttons, the under coat blue, with flat large silver buttons, a blue waistcoat lined with white flannel, short and doublebreasted in the manner of a sailor's dress, black or very dark blue breeches, black stockings, a pair of large square open-worked silver buckles in his shoes."

Prison dress and prison classification seem to have been then unknown.

The manners and habits of the time were somewhat coarse. Cock-fighting and bear-baiting were still patronised by a class much above the lowest. Advertisements, such as the following, are very common :—

"A main of cocks will be fought at Ulverstone, in Lancashire, betwixt Cumberland and Lancashire gentlemen, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wed-

needay, in Easter week next, for five guineas a battle, and fifty guineas the main or odd battle.

"DAVID SMITH, for Cumberland,
THOS RICHARDSON, for Lancashire, } Feeders."

The old practice of lifting in Easter week, now quite obsolete, was in the middle of the last century commonly practised, and converted Easter Monday and Tuesday into a saturnalia of the lower orders. In a paragraph, dated April 4th, 1760, it is stated that it was then carried on in Liverpool "in a manner that outrages decency. Sensible, modest women are afraid to be seen out of doors, lest they should be exposed to the insult of the mob. People are not seldom molested and taken off horse-back to be lifted, unless they submit to this insolence by making a pecuniary compensation, which is always spent in a manner not consistent with propriety."

Amusements of a more refined character, however, were not wanting. The new theatre, as it was called, in Drury Lane, was kept up with considerable spirit. The following is a specimen of the advertisements:—

"By comedians from the Theatre Royal, in London. At the New Theatre in Drury Lane, Liverpool, this present Friday, June 15th, will be acted an Historical play, call'd King Henry the Fourth, with the humours of Sir John Falstaff. Falstaff by Mr. Shuter, with dancing by Mr. Granier. To which will be added a Farce, call'd the King and the Miller of Mansfield."

Concerts also were not unfrequent, got up by subscription during the season, as appears by the following advertisement, of August 24, 1759:—

"At the Assembly Room in the Exchange, on Tuesday, August 28, 1759 (being the last night of the subscription), will be performed the Masque of Acis and Galatea, as an Oratorio, composed by Mr. Handel. Acis by Mr. Sullivan, the Giant Polypheme by Mr. Pratt, Damon by Mr. Spence, Galatea by Mr. Arne. The choruses by gentlemen of Chester and Manchester choirs and others."

A society at this time flourished in Liverpool which occupied a somewhat prominent position for a considerable time. It was called "The Society of Bucks." It seems to have been principally convivial, though to some slight extent of a political complexion. On Monday, 4th June, 1759, they advertise a celebration of the birthday of George Prince of Wales, (afterwards King George III). On Wednesday, July 25, their anniversary meeting is held "by command of the grand;" dinner on the table at two o'clock. On August 3, they command a play at the Theatre; and on the 8th February, 1760, the society is recorded as "having generously sub-

scribed £70 towards clothing our brave troops abroad, and the relief of the widows and orphans of those who nobly fell in their country's and liberty's cause. This is the second laudable subscription made by them, having some time since remitted 50 guineas to the marine society."

The mode in which marriages are inserted is somewhat amusing. It seems to have been thought requisite in all cases to append a complimentary epithet to the bride, and the extent of her fortune, if any. For instance, in June 18, 1760—

"Married, on Tuesday last, John Atherton, jun., Esq., to Miss Bird, only daughter of Alderman John Bird, an agreeable young lady, with a fortune of £10,000.

Again, on the 19th September, in the same year—

"On Thursday, the 11th instant, was married in London, Mr. Oliver Beckett, merchant, of Oporto, to Miss Dorothy Snaith, an agreeable young lady, with every accomplishment, suitable to make the marriage state happy."

Many illustrations present themselves of the frightful extent to which the impressment of seamen for the navy was at that time carried out, and of the brutal manner in which it was enforced. We read, for instance—

"Captain Thompson, of the *Golden Lyon*, Greenland ship, is discharged from the *Vengeance*, man-of-war, on board of whom he and several of his crew had been carried by force, by the pressgangs out of the Custom House here; several bullets have been found that were fired from the pistols in the Custom House by the pressgangs, and we are assured that the magistrates and the merchants are determined to prosecute them for their insolence, one of the magistrates being then in the Custom House, and very ill treated for commanding the peace, &c."

Again—"On Tuesday last arrived here the letter-of-marque ship *Ingram*, from Africa and Jamaica. The crew having secured the captain, attempted to get clear of the man-of-war and four tenders; the tide being spent, the ship's company and officers were all impressed, except the chief mate and commander; on their being brought on board the man-of-war, Capt. — *ordered each man to be tied up, stripped, and whipped.*" The editor adds—"This needs no comment, for had the seamen committed any offence against the laws of this realm, they were entitled to an Englishman's right."

Protections, it seems, might be obtained, probably "for a consideration," for we meet with advertisements such as the following, Sept. 14, 1759:—

"Protections from the press for ships' companies, sailors upwards of 55 years of age, apprentices, foreigners or landsmen who incline to betake themselves to the sea service, may be had with the greatest expedition by applying to Thomas Statham, at the Post-office, Liverpool."

A few glimpses are occasionally obtained of the condition of the working classes in Liverpool a hundred years since. In June, 1760, the cabinet-makers had a difference with their workmen respecting the hours of work, and the result was a strike. The masters put forth an advertisement to excite the sympathy of the public, in which, amongst other things, they state that—"About twelve months ago, we advanced the wages 2s. per week to several of our best workmen, and to others in proportion." They further state, that "a great part of our work was formerly made by the piece by these men, which we call good workmen, and have earned frequently from 12s. to 16s. per week." We see from this that the maximum of wages obtainable by the best workmen in that occupation, which required skilled artisans, was 12s. to 16s per week, all the necessaries of life, except house rent, and occasionally bread, being quite as dear as at the present day. The remuneration of the workman has at least doubled within the last century in this locality, as in most others, and the standard of comfort amongst the operative classes has been raised in an equal proportion.

A few notices in these papers connected with individuals who have been in their day worthy of remark in this locality, may be briefly alluded to.

On the 25th of May, 1759, appears the following advertisement:—

"The school lately kept in Redcross Street by Mr. William Smith, writing master, deceased, is continued by his son, Edgerton Smith, where any gentlemen that shall think proper to commit their children to his instruction, may depend on their being carefully and expeditiously taught writing, arithmetick, merchants' accounts, navigation, geography, the use of the globes, maps, charts, planispheres, the rudiments of astronomy, geometry, &c., &c., &c. N.B.: Those persons that have already paid Mr. William Smith the full price for navigation, merchants' accounts, geography, and the use of the globes, are at liberty to come and make themselves compleat masters of that branch without any additional expence."

The Egerton Smith who thus advertises was the father of the late Egerton Smith, the founder of the *Liverpool Mercury*, and for many years the active and energetic promoter of every benevolent and philanthropic effort.

A notice of the life of John Wyke, who may be called the founder of the watch manufacturing trade in Liverpool, was recently read before the Historic Society. It is there stated that he settled in Liverpool in 1758, and first resided in King Street; and that in 1764-5 he erected the premises in Dale Street, subsequently called Wyke's Court, for his residence and manufactory. This does not appear to be quite correct, to judge by

the following advertisement, extracted from the *Advertiser* of February 16th, 1759 :—

“Prescot, 20th December, 1758.—To be let, to enter on in May or June next, a commodious, pleasant, and well situated dwelling house and shop, both fronting the market place in this town, with or without a stable, and a number of workshops.....convenient for whitesmiths, brassfounders, pewterers, pinmakers, &c., &c. The situation is very proper for most manufactories, having plenty of coals round the town; a good market, the town daily increasing, postage, convenient carriage, &c., and only eight post miles of turnpike road to the great seaport of Liverpool. The present stock of toys, books, stationery, china, and hardwares to be sold separate or together, and the said branches of trade (which will be much wanted, it being the only shop of the kind in town) will be turned over on reasonable terms by John Wyke, he intending to remove, in May next, to his house in Dale Street, Liverpool, and there only to carry on his large manufactories of watchwork, and watch and clock makers’ tools, &c.”

Singularly enough, in the first Gore’s Directory, issued in 1766, we find the name of John Wyke, watchmaker, in King Street. On the 7th of August, 1760, appears the following notice :—

“Whereas Ann, my wife, eloped from me the 27th day of April last without my knowledge, and since contracted various debts, I do hereby give notice that I will not be accountable for any debts she may contract, &c., &c. Signed John Wyke.”

If this John Wyke be a different individual, the coincidence is singular, more especially as the elopement corresponds so exactly in time with the removal from Prescot to Liverpool.

A man more eminent than either of those alluded to, resided in Liverpool about 1759, of whom we find some traces in the volumes now under consideration. I allude to the Rev. John Newton, vicar of Olney, and afterwards rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, the friend of Cowper, and author of the *Cardiphonia*. It is well known that in early life he was a sailor, and subsequently commanded a slave ship. At this time he held an office under the customs at Liverpool. Although he had not yet entered the church as an ordained clergyman, yet his thoughts and attention had already been directed that way. On the 16th November, 1759, the following advertisement appears :—

“In the Press, and speedily will be published, Six Discourses as intended for the Pulpit, by John Newton, Price two shillings, octavo. Tho’ the author thinks himself of too little consequence to solicit a formal subscription, he will not be insensible to the countenance of his friends, and if they

are pleased to leave their names with Mr. R. Williamson, the printer in Liverpool, that the number of the impression may the more easily be adjusted, it will be considered as a further favour."

This leads us to the subject of the current literature of the middle of the last century, as indicated by the various announcements and advertisements relating to it. Magazines had some twenty years before sprung into existence and already swarmed from the press. We have advertisements of the venerable "Gentleman's Magazine," the patriarch of monthly literature, the "General Magazine," the "London Magazine," the "Grand Magazine," the "Grand Magazine of Magazines," the "Royal Magazine," the "Ladies' Magazine," *cum multis aliis*. Most of these were published at 6d. per number. Although their literary merit was not great, yet they greatly assisted in the general diffusion of useful intelligence, and prepared the way for a higher class of literature at a succeeding period. Works published in numbers began at this time to be common, and are frequently advertised. Derrick's Letters, frequently alluded to as illustrative of Liverpool about the time we are treating of, were issued in 1760. On the 15th of August, in that year, they are thus advertised:—

"Proposals for printing by subscription one beautiful quarto volume of poems, plays, essays, letters, and translations, written by Mr. Derrick, editor of Dryden's works. The price is one guinea for royal, or twelve shillings for common paper; half to be paid at the time of subscribing, and half on the delivery of the book. Those who choose to honour this work with their names will be pleased to pay their first subscription to the author in Liverpool, or to Mr. Williamson, printer."

The municipal affairs of the town appear to have been conducted at this time with tolerable quiet. The war was the great absorbing theme, and became the channel into which all the efforts and public spirit, both of individuals and the community naturally flowed. In addition to the construction of four or five large batteries by voluntary subscription, raising an artillery company, and several corps of local troops, subscriptions were entered into for the relief of English prisoners in France. The inhabitants further showed their loyalty by contributions towards raising soldiers for the regular troops, as recommended in the following advertisement:—

"Borough of Liverpool, Robert Cunliffe, Esq., mayor. At a council held this third 3rd day of October, 1759, on the motion of Sir Ellis Cunliffe, Baronet, resolved, and ordered that the following proposals be made, and stand as resolutions, orders, and acts of this council, and are as follow:

"That a subscription be immediately opened at the mayor's office for voluntary contributions to be given in bounties of four guineas (over and above the king's bounty) to each able bodied landsman as shall, within two months from the date hereof, enlist himself to serve his king and country as a soldier in Captain Jeffery's company of Royal Volunteers, now raising at Liverpool, and for the company of Captain Nathaniel Haywood, of the Royal Volunteers." &c.

The excitement caused by the varying news of the war by land and sea was naturally great. We read on the 26th October, 1759 :—

"On Monday last an universal joy having dispersed itself over this town on account of the glorious news of Quebec's surrendering to the English forces, late under the command of General Wolfe, whose memory will ever be dear to England, Lawrence Spencer, Esq., mayor, gave a general invitation to the gentlemen, merchants, and tradesmen, who waited on him at the Exchange, and were elegantly entertained. Bonfires, ringing of bells, a general illumination, and plenty of free liquor to the populace crowned the evening, which was conducted with the greatest regularity."

I will not trespass further by extending these extracts. For many persons they may possess but little interest, but to those who are accustomed to ponder over the past, and mark the gradual changes of manners and feelings, and the steady advance of society as a whole, nothing can be more interesting than an occasional glimpse of the past in all its freshness as it lived and breathed, whether it be in the pages of a newspaper, or in the columns of an old almanac. The middle of the 19th century possesses many advantages over the middle of the 18th in every thing that relates to convenience, physical comfort, the arts of life, and the social laws by which we are governed, but it is questionable if there are not some drawbacks. It is a subject of inquiry which circumstances may probably soon test, whether there is not at the present day more individual selfishness, a less amount of identification with the interests of society as a whole—in fine, less patriotism—than distinguished our forefathers a century since. Common risks and liabilities, common dangers, have a strong tendency to produce a firm and united feeling in a community, and probably the events now passing may produce similar effects at the present day.

DESCRIPTION OF AN ANCIENT COPY BOOK, OF THE TIME OF CHARLES II.

This Scholastic relic is curious, as consisting not merely of perishable materials, but as an object which, from its very nature, is usually doomed to early destruction. It sometimes happens, however, from the partiality of attached relatives, or from some superiority in execution, or even from accident, that such sybilline leaves are preserved, to interest the members of a future generation. The history of the present little book is not well preserved; but it is gratifying to find that whatever its pedigree, a very slight repair is sufficient to put it in respectable condition.

It consists of twenty-three folios, between the length of modern foolscap and ordinary post paper. Each of these is written on one side only, for though the paper is good, the large quantity of ink employed, causes the heavier letters to show through to the opposite side. The first page is an announcement of ownership, and there may have been a title page preceding it which is now lost. This is given in true schoolboy verse, a mixture of Latin and English doggerel; and the lines are written without regard to the arrangements of Prosody. They are as follows:—

Cujus hic liber, if that you would know,
In duobus litteris, I will you show;
Prima est A, splendet soe bright,
Altera est E, in all men's sight,
Junge has litteras, Cunningly,
Et scias meum nomen presently.
Si meum nomen you chance to miss,
Aspice subter, and there it is.

Anthony Eaton, October 12th, 1673.

On two or three of the pages, the signature, John Marple occurs, as if the book had afterwards belonged to some person of Cheshire ancestry.

The last page contains a double exercise in penmanship. Within a lozenge or diamond on the upper part of the page, the boundary lines of which consist of skilful flourishes, is a well known anagram, which may be read in four ways,—backwards or forwards, up or down.

S A T O R
A R E P O
T E N E T
O P E R A
R O T A S

Underneath this, the Lord's Prayer is written within a circle about the size of a modern shilling, and occupies only two-thirds of the space. The date of the performance is given 1673.

Between these two folios are twenty-one copies, representing seriatim, the letters of the Alphabet in their initials; but J, V, X, Y and Z are wanting.

Each of the initial letters with its flourishes, occupies a space of from nine to sixteen square inches, as their dimensions, vertical and horizontal, vary from three to four inches. These letters are equivalent to the illuminated capitals of the ancient MSS., or the ingenious and artistic wood blocks that superseded them, in the earlier ages of the Art of Printing. The flourishes consist of curious nondescript devices, the leaves flowers and fruit of vegetables, the heads of animals that would not find a place in any system of Zoology, and numerous examples of "the human face divine." The first line is usually printed in Old English characters, and sometimes consists of a separate word, like a line in large hand. The whole has a certain resemblance to the well-known heading of certain legal documents, "*This Indenture*." The first commences with the word *Abraham*, and then goes on in the form of a letter, "Sir, after my humble services presented to you, these are therefore to let you understand, &c." Other single words are *Emmanuel*, *Justinian*, &c. At the letter K the word which constitutes the heading line is spelled *Katharine*, a little *i* being afterwards placed between the perpendicular bars; and at the letter T the space was miscalculated, for there is only room for *Thomas*, a small final *s* being added, in the style which one occasionally sees on a country sign-board.

The mode of writing is very varied. The exercises shew the transition style of the period; for there are some in imitation of mediæval manuscripts, others in engrossing hand, court hand, German text, fanciful letters, and modern manuscript.

Some of the poetical quatrains appear to be taken from ancient metrical versions of the Psalms; others are evidently portions of popular songs, and one or two are still familiarly known as nursery rhymes. The following are specimens:—

Hector Hanno and Hanniball are dead,
Pompey and Pirrhuss spild;
Scipio Cirus and Cesar are slaine,
And great Alexander is kild.

When as the charocco blowes
And winter tells a heavy tale,
When Pies & Dawes & Rookes & Crowes
Doe sit & curse in frost and snowes,
Then give vs ale.

From the beholding of my Sinns
Lord turne away thy face
And all my deeds of wickednesse
Doe vtterly deface.

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Come hither, faire virgin, and listen awhile,
 Perhaps that in time I shall make you to smile ;
 For if there be ever a Lasse in this Town,
 I will haue her loue, for ile not haue her frowne.
 Therefore my Dearest be ruled by me,
 And lets joyne Communion if we can agree.

Of all the plaguēs uppon the earth
 That euer to man did fall,
 Is hunger and a scolding wife,
 These two be the worst of all.

QUARLES was a poet, humane and divine,
 And one that was learned in the Muses nine.

On two of the pages there is a peculiar kind of cipher used, which however is easily discoverable. The reader is referred for suggestions on this subject to Edgar Poe's story, entitled the "Gold Beetle." The first instance here is in what is called figure writing ; which consists merely in using the ten Arabic characters for the vowels and such consonants as are of frequent occurrence. The common arrangement does not quite harmonize with the statistics of typography, but it is popularly correct, and is sufficiently so in reality, for all practical purposes. According to it the arrangement is

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
a	e	i	o	u	y	t	n	s	r

The variation used on the present occasion is

1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (not used)	8	9
a	e	i	o	u	l (m?)		n	r

Hence the following line is easily read :—

18th48y 21t48 2st 5295s p4ss2ss40 h535s 63b93

Anthony Eaton, est verus possessor hujus libri.

The other instance of cipher occurs under the letter K, and is evidently such as any one might invent and employ. Symbols are used for the vowels only. The letter p is taken, and a horizontal bar drawn across its stem, so that the whole resembles the manuscript contraction for the word *per*. This is the vowel *a*. With two short bars or strokes, the p indicates *e*, with three *i*, with four *o*, and with five *u*. The following verse can then be read :—

A man in the wilderness asked of me
 How many strawberries grew in the Sea ;
 I made him answeare, as I thought good,
 As many red herings as Swam in the wood.

At the bottoms of the several pages, are written or printed complete alphabets of the kind employed in the body of the copies; and occasionally a sentence from the Latin. At the letter K, for example, the sentence is—

Da tua dum tua sunt, post mortem tunc tua non sunt.

The large initial letters have suffered most during the period of nearly two centuries which has elapsed since the book was written. This is attributable to two causes;—the caustic nature of the ink, and the fraying of the pen, during the process which is technically called “painting.” The breadth and blackness of the lines have been imparted by frequent inking, the traces of the pen being still discernible; and the paper has suffered in consequence. In the dashes and flourishes which formed men’s heads without lifting the pen, it is curious to see allusion to the costume of the period, in the wiggish form that is given to the hair and curls.

The cover of the book is in good order, on the whole. It consists of a piece of stout parchment, which had formed a portion of a cancelled deed of conveyance, executed six years before, viz., November 25th, 1666, to Anthony Eaton, apparently the father of the schoolboy.*—EDITH.

* An authority of the period was “Gething’s Redivivus, or the Pen’s Masterpiece Restored,” 34 plates, oblong 4to., 1664. It was generally considered necessary to furnish examples of Secretary, Text, Roman, Italian, Court, and Chancery Hands; and all or most of these are found in the Copy-books of the time.

EIGHTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 8th June, 1854.

JAMES KENDRICK, M.D., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were duly elected Members of the Society:—

John Johnson Banning, Devonshire Road, Claughton, Birkenhead.
John Herd, Brunswick Street, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

From the Societies.

Reports and Papers read at the Architectural Societies of the Archdeaconry of Northton, the County of York, and the Diocese of Lincoln, and at the Architectural and Archaeological Society of the County of Bedford.

From Robert Rawlinson, Esq. Report of the General Board of Health and Administration of the Health Act, 1848-54.

Report on a Preliminary inquiry respecting CALSTOCK in the County of Cornwall,
DEVONPORT in the County of Devon.

From Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A. Collectanea Antiqua, Vol. III, Part 3.

From Henry Arthur Bright, Esq. Speeches on University Reform, delivered at Liverpool, April 25th, 1854.

From Samuel Richardson, Esq. Decimal Coinage Tables.

From Jesse Hartley, Esq. A small Roman vase, found during the excavation for the foundations of the Stone Bridge across the Dee, at Chester.

The following articles were EXHIBITED:—

Mr. R. H. Brackstone exhibited a silver penny of Philip de Valois, and two medallions of Napoleon Bonaparte, one commemorative of the Hundred Days, and the other of the Berlin Decrees.

The Honorary Curator, Mr. Mayer, exhibited three maces, which he had recently found stowed away in the strong-room at the Town Hall; and on bringing them to light, was permitted by His Worship, John Buck Lloyd, Esq., to make sketches of them. After clearing away the tarnish and verdigris, with which they were entirely covered, so as almost to hide the whole of the work that ornaments them, he found that the largest of the

hree was made of silver, and had been strongly covered with gilding ; on the lower mould joint of the shaft was the inscription "THE GYFT OF CHARLES, DERBY," who was Earl of Derby and Mayor of Liverpool in 1666. The smallest mace is made of copper gilt, and appears to be of the time of James I, bearing the royal arms upon the flat part of the crown or head. This was the mace carried by an officer, on the occasion of "Riding the Boundaries," and with it he struck each boundary stone, at the same time claiming, in the name of the Burgesses, their ancient right of jurisdiction within certain limits all round the town. The third mace is probably of the period of Queen Anne ; it is also made of copper, and has been richly gilt.

[It is singular that these interesting relics of former times were not known to be in existence by any of the numerous writers on the history of Liverpool ; but Mr. Mayer having applied to the Mayor and Corporation for permission to search over the records of the town, received not only the permission to do so, but the Town-clerk, William Shuttleworth, Esq., with his usual kindness, and love of everything that is interesting about ancient Liverpool, promptly afforded his assistance. We therefore hope, in our next volume, to give sketches of them, with all the historical information relating to them that can be procured, regarding the stirring times when they formed the Regalia of Liverpool.]

Mr. Mayer also exhibited a series of small objects, apparently the toys or playthings of a child ; they had been found in a Roman burial ground, near Cologne on the Rhine, and in the grave with them were the remains of the skeleton of a female child. They consist of a doll made of bone, the head, arms, and legs are jointed similar to those of the present day ; an ivory pin for fastening the hair ; an ivory pin, having at the upper end of it a small hollow scoop ; the ivory haft of a small knife, the blade of which, being made of iron, fell to pieces on being removed ; an ivory die, marked on one side with four dots ; a small circular mirror, of which part of the glass speculum remains, the rim being made of lead, as well as the ring at the back which served as a handle ; a bead of rock crystal ; a small amethystine quartz bead,—these two last were worn as charms, or amulets ; a glass vase or lachymatoria ; also a terra-cotta vase ; five cups with handles ; two small vases of terra-cotta, having three small projections upon the sides of each ; an ivory vase ; a piece of terra-cotta, something like what ladies used half a century ago for curling their hair ; a piece of terra-cotta, having three holes in it, probably to contain paint ; a sort of muller of terra-cotta ; a leaden pin, with a large flat circular head ; and a small third brass coin much worn.—See *Lithograph* of the whole, the same size as the original.

Mr. Mayer also exhibited a remarkable Rosary, consisting of fifty-seven oval formed beads, having three sides to each bead, in which are inserted under rock crystals portions of the bones, garments, and blood, with other reliques of Saints, the names being inscribed upon them. Attached to the end of the Rosary is a heart-shaped ornament, made of ebony, as are the beads, in the centre of each side of which is a large piece of crystal covering a quantity of relics, and surrounded by twelve round pieces of crystal, each having its relic. Besides, there is attached to the string of

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beads a large cross made of box-wood. On the front of it is carved in low-relief, our Saviour on the cross, and below it the figure of a martyr whose breast is pierced with a sword; the back of the cross is ornamented with a figure of the Virgin Mary in relief, between the junction of the arms, which are ornamented with emblems of the cup, flagellum, pincers, hammer, crown of thorns, cross-bones, reed and spear, cross and ladder. The lower arm of the cross has a sliding piece, which covers a cavity that is filled with reliques —The original MS. order of King William III, requiring a form of prayers for certain fast days for the success of his arms against King James II. It is dated 1st August, 1690, or a month after the battle of the Boyne, and reads as follows:—

“William R.

After Our hearty Commendations. As we have by Our Royal Proclamation of the date hereof, Enjoynd that a Publick fast be Solemnizd, on friday the 15th instant, And soe Upon every friday ensueing, for the better Progress of Our Armes, dureing the continuance of the War. So We doe hereby Authorise & Require You, to Prepare a forme of Prayer or Prayers, which may be Suitable to the Occasion, to be Used in All Cathedrall & other Churches, Chapells, or other places of Publick Worship, And that You cause the same to be printed, and Distributed to the Several Parishes of this Kingdom, Under Our Obedience. And Soe We bid You heartily farewell.

Given at Our Court at Chapelized this first day of August 1690, in the Second yeare of Our Reigne.

By his Ma^{ty} Comand

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.”

To the Most Reverend father
in God, the Archbishop of Armagh
Primate of all Ireland, and to the
Right Reverend the Bishops of
Meath & Limerick now in
Dublin.

Many other interesting objects as works of art, antiquity, and of curious workmanship were exhibited by Mr. Mayer, being part of his collections during a recent visit to the Continent. They were purchased by him in various places on his route through Bavaria, Austria, Bohemia, Saxony, Prussia, &c.

[The pleasure of collecting is by no means heightened when the Custom-house officers have to do with the affair. Mr. Mayer, wishing to disencumber himself of his gatherings when they had grown large enough to fill a good-sized box, despatched them, some by the Danube, some by the Rhine, and by other convenient routes; but one unlucky large case, weighing nearly a quarter of a ton, filled with Antique Bronzes, Terra-cottas, Roman Glass, Manuscripts, Antique Arms and Armour, (as Swords, Guns, Pistols, Daggers, &c.,) was seized at Hamburg, and not allowed to be shipped. The

wise officials seeing no difference between match-locks of two centuries ago, and the guns &c., of the present time, detained them as "contraband of war," and put the owner to much inconvenience before they would give them up. Even here the troubles did not end, for on arrival at Hull these same objects of antiquity were charged as "*Manufactured Goods*," and subject to a duty of ten per cent. *ad valorem*, although they were intended for a museum and not for sale. If they had been "*Objects of Natural History*," they would have been free from duty. Surely this limitation was never intended by the framers of the Tariff, but an oversight; for illustrations of the habits and labours of man are quite as instructive as specimens of botany or ornithology, and we trust shortly to see an order from the Treasury abolishing the strange anomaly which often prevents such objects from being brought to England for our museums.]

In illustration of his own paper to be read, Mr. Howson exhibited the following Books. The Mariner and Merchant's Polyglot Technical Dictionary, containing upwards of 5000 terms in ten different languages of Modern Europe. By K. P. ter Reehorst, 1850. Neuman's Marine Pocket Dictionary, 1800. Vocabulary of Sea-Phrases [French and English], in 2 vols., 1799. Falconer's Universal Dictionary of the Marine, 1776. Taschen-Wörterbuch der allgemeinsten, Schiffs-Ausdrücke. John D. Imhorst, 1844. The Seaman's Dictionary,* 1644. The Commonwealth's Great† Ship, 1653.

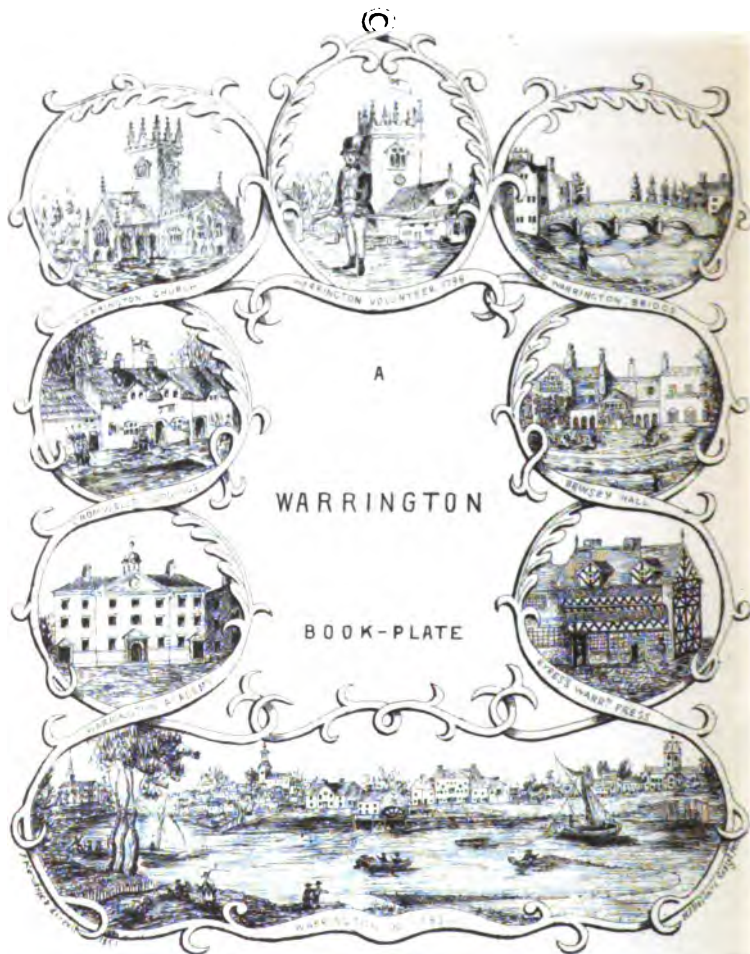
Dr. Kendrick exhibited a specimen of a fancy book-plate, containing several interesting views in Warrington and the neighbourhood. The following is a detailed account of it :—

* The following is the full title. "The Sea-man's Dictionary; or an Exposition And Demonstration of all the Parts and Things belonging to a Shippe: Together with an Explanation of all the Termes and Phrases used in the Practique of Navigation. Composed by that able and experienced Sea-man Sr Henry Manwayring Knight; And by him presented to the late Duke of Buckingham, the then Lord High Admirall of England. [I have perused this Book, and find it so universally necessary for all sorts of men, that I conceive it very fit to be at this time imprinted for the Good of the Republicke. John Booker, Septemb. 20 1644.] London, Printed by G. M., for John Bellamy, and are to be sold at his Shop at the signe of the three Golden Lions in Cornhill neare the Royall Exchange. 1644."

† The following is the full title. "The Commonwealth's Great Ship commonly called the Sovereigne of the Seas, built in the yeare 1637, with a true and exact Dimension of her Bulk, and Bur-den, and those Decorements which beautifie and adorne her, with the Carving work, Figures, and Mottoes upon them. Shee is besides her Tunnage 1637 Tuns in burden. She beareth five Lanthorns, the biggest of which will hold ten persons to stand upright, with-out shouldring or pressing one another; with the names of all the Ropes, Masts, Sailes, and Cordage that belong unto a SHIP. As also the names of all our Commanders at Sea, the number of men and Gunnes which every Ship carrieth, both in their Admirall, Vice Admirall, and Reare Admirall. With all the Fights we have had with the Hollander, since the Engagement of Lieutenant Admirall *Trompe* neere *Dover*, against the English Fleet under the Command of Generall *Blake*, at the same time that three of their Embassadours were here treating of *PEACE*, with a perfect rehearsall of an Act for the encrease of shipping, and encouragement of the Navigation of this Nation, which so much displeaseth the Hollander. [Goe not forth hastily to strive, lest thou know not what to doe in the end thereof, when thy neighbour hath put thee to shame.] London, Printed by M. Simmons for Tho. Jenner, and are to be sold at the south entrance of the Royall Exchange. 1653."

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DESCRIPTION OF A WARRINGTON BOOK-PLATE.

The Medallion in the centre of the Plate represents the '*Old Blueback*,' or Loyal Warrington Volunteer of 1798. A short account of this corps will be found in the present volume of the 'Historic Society's Papers.

The first Medallion on the left side of the Plate is a representation of the east end of *Warrington Church*, which, together with the town, was garrisoned by the Royalists in 1643, and battered and taken by the Parliamentarians in the month of May in that year. Below it is a drawing of the house in Church Street, Warrington, occupied for three days by *Cromwell*, on his pursuit of the Scots Army, under the Duke of Hamilton, in August, 1648. Several autograph letters of Cromwell, probably written within this edifice, are still extant, giving an account of his defeat of the Duke, on the 19th of August, at Red Bank, three miles north of Warrington. The third Medallion on the left, represents the *Warrington Academy*, erected in 1762, rendered famous in the history of our national literature, by its intimate association for many years with the names of Aikin, Enfield, Reinhold Forster, Priestley, Percival, Barbauld, Gilbert Wakefield, and others, many of whom held office as tutors within its walls, and resided within or near its precincts.

On the right side of the Book-Plate is a representation of '*Old Warrington Bridge*,' built in 1495, by Thomas, Earl of Derby, and subsequently the site of several eventful occurrences. Here, in August, 1648, Cromwell overtook and captured the infantry of Duke Hamilton's army, and here, in the same month three years afterwards, Charles II. forced a passage through the troops of General Lambert, on his route from Scotland to the fatal field of Worcester. In 1745 the centre arches of the bridge were destroyed to impede the progress of the Pretender southwards, and although these were restored, it was finally taken down in the year 1816, a short time previous to which the original of the present diminished drawing was taken. The next Medallion contains a view of *Bewsey Hall*, one mile west of Warrington. It was anciently the seat of the knightly family of the Botelers, barons of Warrington, which became extinct in the reign of Elizabeth. Sir John Boteler is said to have been foully murdered here in 1462, together with a faithful domestic. (See Dodsworth's MSS., vol. cxiii, fol. 14, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.) In 1617 king James I. slept at Bewsey, and knighted its then possessor, Thomas Ireland, Esq. The modern portion of the building, readily distinguished in the drawing, was erected as a banqueting-room for a clandestine visit of the Pretender, in 1760, when Richard Atherton, Esq., a staunch Jacobite, was the tenant. The last Medallion presents a view of the premises occupied by the *Messrs. Eyres* as a printing office, from which issued some of the most beautiful specimens of typography of the day, including the first editions of the works of Aikin, Enfield, Barbauld, Pennant, Howard the philanthropist, and Watson's History of the House of Warrenne.

The view of *Warrington* in 1783, at the bottom of the Book-Plate, exhibits several points of local interest, and is copied from an original drawing in water colours in the possession of Dr. Kendrick.

PAPERS.

I.—ON THE HISTORY OF NAVAL TERMS, PART II.,

By the Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A.,

PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEGIATE INSTITUTION.

In a paper read before the Society on the 5th of May, last year, I endeavoured to point out that the study of the History of Naval Terms, though hitherto almost entirely neglected, is worthy to be prosecuted with care and attention. For the purpose of classifying the details of the subject, which must necessarily be very miscellaneous, I observed that it might be convenient to distribute them under the two heads of *philological* and *historical* enquiry. The first of these would relate merely to the history of words as such, embracing topics connected with the English language, as compared with other languages, or with its own earlier condition. The second would include the consideration, not merely of the technical terms themselves, but of those changes in the progress of shipbuilding, navigation, and commerce, which are indicated by the existence of the terms, and their transmission from one country to another.

I ventured also to suggest what seemed to me a convenient method of prosecuting the enquiry, viz., by comparing our own nautical phrases with their synonyms in four languages of Northern Europe, and four of Southern Europe. By such a comparison, I conceived that we might, under the first aspect of the subject, elucidate some of the less obvious linguistic affinities, which subsist between ourselves and our neighbours; and, under the second, throw some light on international relationships and national characteristics, so far at least as they are connected with life at sea.

In the former paper, I limited myself almost entirely to what was *philological*. In my present remarks,* I wish to invite your attention rather to what is historical; but before I proceed to the second part of the subject, I may offer to your notice a few more illustrations of the first. The word *ship* itself was made the occasion of some remarks in the previous paper. I

* This paper was prepared for the press, and the proof was corrected when the writer was in haste and absent from Liverpool; and probably some errors have escaped his notice.

might have added that we have in our own language three words—*ship*, *skiff* and *skipper*—which illustrate those very interchanges of consonants, which come before our observation, when we compare this first and most obvious of sea-terms with its equivalents in other Teutonic languages. Again, in the terms *shipper* and *skipper*—originally the same word, but now so different in meaning, that no one, at least in Liverpool, can confound them—we have a good instance of the power which words possess to disengage themselves from a common root, by a mere difference of spelling, till they become absolutely distinct in sense. “Nothing is more common,” says Mr. Trench, in his latest work,* “than for slightly different orthographies of the same word finally to settle and resolve themselves into different words, with different provinces of meaning, which they have severally appropriated to themselves, and which henceforth they maintain in perfect independence one of the other.”

We may take up the consideration of a few other terms, almost at random. The word *cruise* might cause us some perplexity at first sight, but when we notice its synonymous terms in the Romance languages—*crociare* (It.), *cruzar* (Sp.), and *croiser* (Fr.), we see at a glance its past history, as well as its fitness to express the crossing from shore to shore, and the transverse courses of a ship at sea. Our word *mizen* is derived indirectly from *medius*, and in German it becomes *besahn*. We have here the change of D into Z, and of M into B (strictly according to rule), just as in the former paper we had an instance of T passing into N. What we call *canvass*, is expressed in Dutch by *zeildack*—“sail-cloth”—and by similar phrases in the other northern languages: but the Italian term *canavezza* brings us back to the Latin “cannabis,” and by help of the German “hanf,” compared with the Sanscrit, we learn the curious fact, that “*canvass*” and “*hemp*” are actually the same word.

As instances of old English words, or early forms of words, preserved in the dialect of sailors, I may mention the following. In *hatchway* we have the good old word “hatch,” which is hardly preserved elsewhere, except perhaps in the proverb, “to leap the hatch,” in the sense of running away. In some local dialects, “loo” is used as a verb, in the sense of “to shelter,” and we see that it is identical with the nautical phrase *lee*, when we con-

* Trench on the Synonyms of the New Testament, p. 17.

sider how "*leeward*" is pronounced by sailors. *Boom* is the same word with "beam," and in a form nearer to the German "*baum*." So *spar* is another form of "spear."

But leaving now what is purely philological, let us turn to the second part of the subject, which I proposed to make the main topic of our consideration this evening. We pass from the first to the second part of the subject, from the philological to the *historical*, when we consider the active interests of human life in connexion with the study of words. Each new invention or improvement is the means of sending a new stream of vocables into the language of every country where the invention or improvement is adopted. And if this remark is generally true, it is peculiarly applicable to the seafaring life, which keeps up the intercommunion of nations with one another. Thus the adoption and propagation of a new naval term will very probably indicate some improvement in the build, the rig, or the working of a ship; and a close and careful enquiry may lead us to the source whence the improvement came, and enable us to learn its subsequent modifications. More might be said concerning the links between the language of sailors and the progress of human affairs, but this is enough to shew how the subject may be historically illustrative of national life and international relationships.

It is perhaps not easy to draw the line very steadily between the two branches of enquiry, which I have endeavoured to discriminate; but we may safely class under the historical division all the cases in which the human element predominates over the verbal. I may illustrate my meaning by recurring to the word *mizen*, which was the subject of a few philological remarks above. Then we were considering the word; but now we are turning to the history of the thing denoted by the word. It is a very singular fact that what we call *fore-mast* the French call *mât de misaine*, while our *mizen mast* is the mast nearest to the stern. Of course two corresponding groups of words are connected with these two circumstances: in the French vocabulary we find *étai de misaine*, *haubans de misaine*, *hunes de misaine*, &c., all associated with the fore mast; and in our own we have a large ascending series, from the *mizen stay-sail* to the *mizen topgallant-sail*, all in the after part of the vessel. And yet the words *misaine* and *mizen* are undoubtedly the same, both having their origin in the Latin "*medius*." Now here we have a question of shipbuilding, not of consonants or vowels—of things, not of words. The question is—what

changes of position did the middle-sized sail undergo, so as to have left *mizen* in one position of the English vocabulary, and *misaine* in another of the French? I am not able to answer this enquiry; but probably a close examination of early materials would afford an explanation of it.

This illustration may excuse the remark in passing, that the comparative study of naval terms may not be without its utility. It is easy to imagine a concurrence of circumstances, in which a vessel might be lost by the assumption that *misaine* is synonymous with *mizen*. In one of the Dictionaries of sea-terms,* which have been placed in my hands, I find the following note. "In the year 1782, the author, being then first lieutenant of a French line of battle ship, taken by Lord Rodney's fleet in the West Indies, was enabled from his knowledge of French sea-terms, to make the prisoners always assist in working the ship during the passage home, the head-sails being mostly entrusted to their management. It is but justice to add, that in the dreadful hurricane in which "*La Ville de Paris*," "*La Glorieux*," Centaur and Ramillies foundered, the uncommon exertions of these French seamen may be said to have preserved the ship from a similar fate." Such an occurrence is enough to shew that this subject has its aspect of usefulness, as well as of mere curiosity.

But to return to what was more immediately before us, one of the first particulars in which the human interest is conspicuous in the nautical dialect, consists in its tendency to personification. A sailor's thoughts and feelings are centered in his ship. He looks on all outward objects as if they were subservient to her motions. He *brings the wind aft*. He *raises* (or rather *rises*) *the land*. And more than this; his ship is to him like a living creature; he speaks of her *waist*, her *head*, her *eyes*. So it is in all countries, and so it has been in all ages. The Portuguese *becque*, and the Roman *rostrum*, are ready illustrations. A certain passage of Thucydides might be adduced, in which pieces of timber near the prow are called by a word which might be translated "ear-caps." The Chinese, and several other nations, retain the custom of painting an eye on each side of the bows of their boats, and are even said to have a superstitious notion, that the boats cannot see their way without it.

But not only does the sailor personify his ship as a whole, but he has a very animated way of personifying the various parts of it. He speaks of

* Vocabulary of Sea Phrases, by a Captain of the British Navy, in two parts, English and French, and French and English, 1799. (Preface, p. 10.)

horses, camels, cat-heads, yard-arms, &c. It would be a curious enquiry to trace the modifications of this practice in different countries. In Portuguese a *cat-head* is called *Turco*; in Italian the *cap* is called *testa di Moro*. I believe, that by a careful examination, we might detect features of national character under this fanciful phraseology. I am not able to explain why the *mizen-yard* is called *burro*, "a donkey," in Spanish; but I seem to be reminded by this phrase of the country of Sancho Panza. The *bobstay*, or the rope which ties the bowsprit to the cutwater, (the "*wasserstag*," or "waterstay" of Germany) receives in France the lively appellation of *soubarbe de beau-pré*—and the *bowsprit-shrouds*, or the lateral ropes in the same part of the ship, are called in Italian, *mostaccie del copresso*—while I have been told that certain spars, (of which I am not able to give an exact description), sometimes placed on each side of the martingale below the bowsprit, are called *whiskers* by English seamen. How amusingly do some national characteristics of outward appearance, to which I need not allude more particularly, seem to connect themselves with these seafaring expressions. I will mention one other word in this connection, because it is peculiar to the English language, and I am unable to conjecture its derivation. I allude to the word *companion*, which denotes the covering over the descent from the deck to the cabin. The Germans denote it by the simple word *kappe*; but the Spaniard finds a more picturesque expression in his broad felt hat, and he calls it *sombrero*.

I believe it will be found that the naval terms in one language are very seldom translations from those in other languages. We have an exception in the synonymous words *cutwater* (Eng.), and *tagliamare* (Ital.), one of which may be presumed to be a translation of the other: but such exceptions are rare. It is more commonly found that the words used by our sailors are corruptions of what they have borrowed. This, I imagine, is the case with our term *hammock*, which appears in some of the Teutonic languages as *hang-matte*; unless, indeed, the Indian derivation suggested in some dictionaries be correct.

Before we proceed further, it is proper to observe that some nautical phrases (like *companion*, which was mentioned above), are quite peculiar and national in our vocabulary. Such, for instance, is our word *grog*, the associations with which are not always degrading, as may be illustrated, if my memory is clear, in what we are told of Captain Back's celebration of his discovery of the source of the Great Fish-river. So again the various

uses of the term *jack* are probably quite confined to our English tars, except when they are the subject of quotations by others. I might enumerate several expressions which are unique, such as *jib*, *top*, *yard*, &c. But the best illustration which occurs to me is supplied by the word *holystone*, which have received the singular name of the *Bible* and *Prayer-Book*. The sailor's couplet may be known to many :—

"Six days a week we work away as well as we are able,
And on the seventh we holystone the deck, and scrape the cable :"

and a landsman who has slept on a Saturday night on board a man of war, and been awakened early on Sunday morning by the noise overhead, will not easily forget what is meant by *holystoning*. No one will hesitate to say that the freak, which likened these stones to the Bible and Prayer-Book, is thoroughly English.

If some terms in our naval vocabulary are unique, others are universal, or at least common to a great number of nations. Thus, the *cook* and the *captain*, necessary persons in all ships, are called by the same names (more or less modified) in all the eight languages which I have chosen for comparison. Again, I find that the word *Brigantine*, the derivation of which seems very doubtful, has the same range of extension ; the abbreviation *brig* being with us distinguished from the longer word, to denote a slight difference of rig. The same remark is applicable to *anchor*, which is a Greek word, and is still used by all European nations, without excepting the Russians ; and there is a poetical satisfaction in observing that the name of this symbol of hope is everywhere the same.

The main point of interest, however, in this portion of our subject, relates to those terms which are common to two or three languages, and the introduction of which into our own tongue appears to indicate some historical fact connected with trade, navigation, or shipbuilding. Travellers on the Continent have an amusing illustration of what necessarily takes place in this respect, when they hear the words "*ease her*," "*stop her*," "*back her*," on a Spanish steamboat, or on the Italian lakes. If we were ignorant of Watt's native country, the nautical vocabularies of Europe would shew us whence the steam-engine came. And what is true of the improvements and the corresponding phraseology which we have communicated to others, is equally true of what we have borrowed ourselves. We must remember that our nautical history is related alike to the North and

the South, that we owe something to the Mediterranean, and something to the Scandinavian world. We should therefore expect to trace curious hints of the past, by comparing our nautical vocabulary with those of other nations. A few detached instances may be taken, in the first place. We find that the word *cargo* appears in the South as *chargement* (Fr.), *carica* (Ital.), *carga* (Sp.), but that the corresponding terms in the North are totally different. Is it not reasonable to infer from this that our early commercial relations were closer with the South than with the North? Again, if we examine the phrases which relate to shipbuilding, we observe that the expression *chains*, as used in its technical sense, is a translation of a Spanish word, having the same meaning and applied in the same way. May we not conjecture that there was some circumstance in the build of the early Spanish ships, which was common to our own early ships, though it has now disappeared, leaving only the name? On the other hand, we detect the word *gaff* in the Northern languages, and not in the Southern; and it seems to me something better than an idle fancy, which imagines that we have here the token of a peculiar rig borrowed from the bold voyages of our piratical ancestors. So, too, the word *timber*, which appears in the Norwegian and Swedish vocabularies, while it is not used by the sailors of Southern Europe, nor indeed by those of Germany, contains in itself a suggestion of the place of those forests, which supplied some of our earliest and most abundant materials for shipbuilding.

A few terms deserve to be examined more closely. Let us take the expression *forecastle*. The invention of gunpowder has caused this fortress to disappear; but the name is a memorial of its position. The word itself remains, though the 'castle' itself is not 'to the fore.' So we have in French *chateau d'avant*, and in Italian *castello*. But in the North the words denoting this part of the ship are quite different. And I believe the true explanation to be this, that the lighter vessels of the Northmen were without those large structures at the bow, which were used in Southern Europe, after the example of the Romans. The gradual diminution of the *forecastle* in English ships, from its appearance as a large floating fortress, to its present condition, when nothing is left but the name, may be traced in existing pictures and engravings. I am not able to refer to a representation of the "Great Harry," built by King Henry VII., which is usually spoken of as the first ship of the English Navy. But drawings of the embarkation of Henry VIII. at Dover, in 1520, from a picture at Hampton

Court, and of the "Henri Grace à Dieu," built by the same monarch, from one at Greenwich, are familiarly known.* Next in order may be mentioned a view of the Spanish Armada, engraved from some tapestry in the House of Lords, which is now destroyed: and some years later we have the famous ship of the Commonwealth, the "Sovereign of the Seas," built in the year 1637 † and lastly, we may refer to a medal, struck to commemorate the appointment of James II. as Lord High Admiral.‡ We need not proceed further, for a simple inspection of these authorities will sufficiently shew the downward progress of the *forecastle*.

The next term I select as containing in its own history a record of progress in shipbuilding, is *rudder*. Our common notion of a rudder, is that of an apparatus attached to the stern of the vessel, and worked by a tiller, or by ropes. But when we find that the word *rudder* in German denotes an oar, as well as a rudder, we are led to speculate on the origin of the word; and a little examination shews us that the two were originally identical. The German *rudder* is in fact our word "rower," and all steering in the ancient world was accomplished by means of paddles on the side of the vessel near the stern. This is made familiar to students of classical literature, by the Greek and Latin words for the steering-apparatus being usually expressed in the plural. But the assertion is equally true of the ships of the Northmen; and few persons are aware how late in the middle ages this practice continued. We find the use of the paddle-rudder exhibited in the Bayeux tapestry, and in Joinville's Life of St. Louis, we observe "*gouvernaus*" in the plural, as "*gubernacula*" and "*guberna*" are used in Latin. Indeed, it is said that the first indication of the hinged rudder at the stern, is on the gold noble of King Edward III.§ Thus we see how large a chapter in the history of shipbuilding is opened before us, by considering a single word.

I may remark, that this inquiry into the derivation of the term "rudder" throws a light on the history of a word, the origin of which is very difficult to conjecture at first sight. I allude to the term *starboard*, (German

* It is enough to refer to the wood-cuts in the useful publication, called "Old England," Nos. 1417 and 1432.

† See the curious Tract, entitled "The Commonwealth's Great Ship, commonly called the Sovereign of the Seas." London, 1653.

‡ "Old England," No. 1978.

§ See Mr. Smith's Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul, pp. 142-147.

Steuerbord.) I believe the primary meaning of this word to be simply "the steering side"—*board* being the side of the ship, as we see in the word *overboard*—and the right side of the vessel, as you look towards the bow being that on which the steering-paddle was commonly placed in the water. This word can be traced back to the time of Alfred,* and the French *tribord* is a corruption of it. I must not stay to inquire whether *larbord* is merely a playful antithesis to *starboard*, as some suppose, or a compound formed by the aid of some word denoting "the left hand," as others have suggested. Its synonym *backbord*, which is found in some of the Northern languages, and in French is corrupted into *babord*, explains itself from the position of the steersman engaged with the starboard paddle-rudder.†

My last illustration is drawn from the history of a Greek naval term; but this will be excused, from the sacred interest connected with it. In

* A correspondent refers me, both for this word and the antithetical term *backboard*, to King Alfred's version of Orosius, B. i. c. l. in Ohthere's account of his voyage.

† The paper, as originally read, contained some speculations on the history of the word *steerage*, which must evidently at first have had some connection with steering, though its popular usage seems now to associate it more closely with the bowsprit than the rudder. An illustration was sought from an ancient vocabulary, entitled "The Seaman's Dictionary, or an Exposition and Demonstration of all the Parts and Things belonging to a Shippe," and published in 1644; where the following passage occurs (p. 108): "The *stieridge* is the place where they steere, out of which they may see the leech of the sailes, to see if they be in the wind or not." But the following extract, from the communication of a friend, is more to the point:—"In large ships, before more complicated machinery had superseded the use of the 'tiller,' this was fitted to the rudder-head which came up through the counter of the vessel, in a space below the poop deck, and there traversed from side to side, as moved by the ropes communicating with the wheel situated on the quarter deck, immediately before the poop. This part of the vessel where the tiller worked, would naturally be called the 'steerage,' and in case of crowded accommodation might be appropriated to the stowage of stores, or even occasionally for sleeping berths or the hanging of hammocks, so long as the traversing of the tiller was not interfered with. It would generally be a comparatively dark, rough part of the ship, and both in position and aspect inferior to the cabin and state apartments. By association of ideas, therefore, I take it that in all vessels, whether 'finah' or having poops, the term 'steerage' has become applied to those cabins or places of accommodation for passengers or second officers, which, though in the immediate vicinity of the main cabin, are inferior and secondary to it. In merchant vessels, the *steerage*, ordinarily speaking, is the vestibule of the cabin at the foot of the companion ladder, and occupies all the space enclosed between the cabin door and the bulk-head, separating the after part of the vessel from the main hold. Where there is a deck laid on the hold beams, all the space fore and aft between the after bulk-head shutting off the *steerage* and cabin, and the fore bulk-head shutting off the forecabin, (in which the crew generally live), is technically termed the 'twixt decks.' Now, when a vessel's 'twixt decks' are appropriated to passengers, it often happens that the portion immediately before the cabin bulk-head will be separated from the rest, and fitted up rather more comfortably, and the berths there be charged a higher price. Here again, by association, this space will be then termed 'the *steerage*,' and the passengers occupying it be styled '*steerage* passengers.' It may also sometimes be designated by the title of 'second cabin;' but that term, to my ear, implies a style of accommodation, &c. above '*steerage*.'"

Acts xxvii. 40, the word rendered "mainsail" in the authorised version, and translated "litil sail" by Wicliffe, is *artemon*. It is a word which occurs in no other Greek writing; but, very singularly, it is found in the modern French vocabulary. There it denotes what we call the "mizen-sail," or the sail nearest the stern.* But it is established on satisfactory grounds that in the narrative in the Acts it really denotes the "fore-sail." This is curious and perplexing. But an examination of intermediate authorities by Mr. Smith, in his standard work on the Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul,† has cleared up the difficulty. In the modern Italian it is obsolete, and its equivalent is *trinchetta*; but it occurs in the sense of "foresail" in Dante and Ariosto, and also in certain contracts entered into by the Genoese to supply the ships of Louis IX.‡ The change in phraseology is in fact due to a transference of the sail's position. Thus we find that the history of nautical terms may throw a light, not only on the build and rig of ships, but even on difficult parts of Holy Writ.

By taking other Greek terms into our consideration—by examining the modern nautical vocabulary of the Levant—by adding the phrases used by Russian sailors in the Black Sea and the Baltic—we should have widened our view of the subject; and a larger induction might have modified some of our results. But so extensive a comparison of languages would involve no little labour; and probably enough has been said to recommend the subject to the Antiquarians of this town, which, if not the first, is certainly not the third, seaport of the world.

II.—CONCLUDING ADDRESS AT THE END OF THE SECOND TRIENNIAL PERIOD,

By the Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., Hon. Secretary.

At the close of the first cycle of the Society's operations, I complied at once with the request of the Council, in addressing a few words to the members, by way partly of summary and partly of suggestion. A similar

* We have already seen that *mât de misaine* in French is our *foremast*.

† pp. 158–162.

‡ Jal's *Archéologie Navale*, quoted by Mr. Smith.

period has since elapsed : a few days will bring us to the sixth anniversary of the formal institution of the Society.* Within this room the ceremony took place, under the presidency of the chief magistrate for the time, and I believe I am correct in saying that it is the only learned Society of the town that ever was publicly and formally instituted, and not by a mere private union of individual gentlemen. It is our duty to inquire how far first promises have been fulfilled, hopes realised, and the results which were aimed at successfully achieved.

The determination with which the founders of the Society set out was a bold one, though it seems less so now. They felt that small societies, however pleasant they might be to those who could frequently attend meetings, were too limited in intellect, influence, and pecuniary resources to do much good ; and that when they either did not print the papers read, or printed them partially and irregularly, they often *discouraged* instead of *encouraging* intellectual exertions. From the very first, therefore, not merely the work of each session, but even of each meeting, has been accounted for to the Members of this Society. What no other Society in Liverpool has attempted, we have here successfully achieved ; so that we can reckon the years of the Society's existence by the number of its volumes of Transactions.

This, however, is only part of the matter for congratulation which presents itself. The illustrations of the several volumes which have placed us from time to time under great obligations to various friends, have deservedly attracted attention to the labours of the Society, and seldom have any volumes possessed the same facility of reference by copious indices. Our publications are therefore regarded as a valuable medium by which men of the highest attainments, in the metropolis and elsewhere, communicate their acquirements to their brethren ; and though all our volumes contain most valuable communications from non-resident gentlemen, some of them entire strangers, we have not been able to avail ourselves of all the offers of this kind which have been made from time to time.

The price which the volumes realise is a significant illustration of their intrinsic value. In many of the most respectable societies, both in

* This occurred June 20th, 1848, the Mayor, (Thomas Berry Horsfall, Esq.,) in the Chair.

London and the provinces, it is not expected that the printed Proceedings and Transactions will sell for more than *one-third* of the annual subscription. In this Society the volume alone, from the first, has been equal to the entire subscription. Even in the ancient chartered societies of the kingdom, the volumes are depreciated in value by time; but in this one, we have been obliged to increase the selling price of one volume forty per cent., and of another one hundred per cent. And at this latter charge, our first volume has been bought up; so that one of the first duties of the council next session will be, to take into consideration the subject of reprinting it, that members who join us session by session may be enabled to procure complete sets.

The societies and institutions with which we have established friendly communications are now very numerous, and embrace several on the continent, from Orleans in France to Copenhagen in Denmark. During the past three years we have had from a large number of these, numerous testimonials of good will; and in London, our Society has the reputation of being one of two which are the best worked in all the provinces, the other being seated in Sussex.

When the Society was founded, in June, 1848, there were nearly two hundred Members enrolled. This was justly regarded as a large number, for no other society of the town in its most prosperous days had ever reckoned so many—and even after the union of two Societies* the number was only one hundred and thirty. We can, however, look back to this as the period of infancy. From the first hour, the members have steadily increased; and if the Society were placed upon a more permanent basis, I believe that its numbers should not, and would not, fall below five hundred.

While all these arrangements have been going forward with so much success, the property of the Society has also been steadily increasing. We have not merely the nucleus of a Museum but a positive Museum already; small, of course, consisting, as it does, almost wholly of donations. Our Library, too, is not a mere commencement, but a reality, containing some works of great value for inquirers in the path which we have hitherto mainly pursued

* In 1844, the Literary and Philosophical Society consisted of ninety members, and the Natural History Society of sixty, but twenty were common to both, so that the united society consisted of one hundred and thirty.

During the past year, cases for both have been provided by the Council, and the whole collection is laid out, by the care of our Honorary Curator, in an apartment of his own house, which, with his usual generosity, he set apart for its reception. Before the close of another session, it will be necessary to prepare a formal catalogue of both; and the members will be able to see at a glance, not merely what they possess, but what they require.

In the closing address delivered three years ago, I drew attention to the fact that almost every one of the numerous subjects mentioned in our prospectus had been treated of; and also showed that this had happened more by accident than design. I recommended, in consequence, a distinct classification of subjects, and showed that the eleven topics enumerated, naturally divided themselves into five heads—Archæology, Architecture, General Literature, Science, and Miscellaneous Subjects. But as any classification is better than no classification, it is not necessary that there should be so many as five heads, or that these should be the ones. The *principle* is one thing; the *details* are another. The former is of the first importance; the latter may be modified according to the peculiar circumstances of the case.

Classifying the papers as accurately as possible—for some are allied to two or more divisions—we have had during the past three years, History and Antiquities largely treated of, Architecture and Topography to a less extent, Literature, Criticism, Genealogy, Biography, Trade and Commerce, the Fine Arts, and miscellaneous subjects. Taking a large view of the fifty-four papers of a more formal character which have been read in three sessions, twenty-three were connected directly or indirectly with Archæology, twenty with Literature, and eleven were of a Miscellaneous character. When the volume is completed which is now passing rapidly through the press, the Members will have received in three sessions, little short of seven hundred pages of printed matter, together with nearly seventy plates.

The system of classification which was suggested in 1851 is one which I have several times brought before the Members of our various societies, and sometimes also before the public. Men are predisposed, in their minds as in their bodies, to form certain habits, to get as it were into a certain track; and thus some subjects come to be favourites, while others of equal or greater importance suffer very undeserved neglect. It is not sufficient, therefore, to have specific subjects—there should be specific times for their consideration; and, if necessary or possible, distinct persons, to secure the

cultivation of every corner in the intellectual field embraced. This is merely advocating the well-known principle, "A place for every thing, and every thing in its place."

Of the general subjects embraced by the Society, there is only one on which distinct papers have not been read, viz., Science. Even this subject *has* been represented, if we use the term "science" in the wide acceptance which is given to it by the British Association for the Advancement of Science, viz., as including mechanics, philology, geography, ethnology, and statistics. What I mean is, that science, in the stricter use of the term, has not been encouraged, though papers of that kind have been offered to us. There were two reasons for this: first, that there were other societies in the town in which those subjects were more prominent, and to which they more naturally belonged: second, that in the more limited scene of operations to which we were voluntarily, but not necessarily, restricted, we had always as much matter as could be made use of in our limited number of meetings. To show you that the confidence which men of talent place in our Society is undiminished, and that its prospects of usefulness are still greater for the future than ever they were before, I may mention that I have on my list promises of twenty-two papers, not one of which can be made use of before next session. Even this fact does not state the whole truth. Several of our memoirs have been types for whole classes of a similar kind; and others have been only preliminary and introductory to those which are to follow. There is, therefore, no lack of material; and labourers, zealous and competent, are on the increase.

Within the last year, several gentlemen who take a deep interest in our local societies, and are connected with more than one of them, recommended the formation of a great society, from existing materials, in which classification of subjects and division of labour would form the prominent characteristics. The deputies appointed to consult upon the subject, unanimously concurred in this recommendation; and two out of three societies for which the arrangement was thought desirable, have affirmed the principle in like manner. The advantage of the principle is that it may be adopted by one society exclusively, or by several united, provided only that the intellectual strength is sufficient to cultivate all the field that has been mapped out. The Archæological Institute, which apparently

follows up only one line of inquiry, classifies its subjects [Antiquities, History, and Architecture]; and our Society, comprehending, as it does, every inquiry of interest connected with two of the most important shires in the kingdom, not only admits of, but requires and demands, a suitable classification, on many grounds. If the objects of our Society were extended from local to general—that is, if they were removed from their application to a limited locality—such sectional working would be indispensable; and we should then be able to do for Science in its various departments what has been so well done for Archæology, and, to a less extent, for Literature. We should not then be obliged to reject (as we have hitherto been), valuable communications which did not fairly come within our lines of latitude and longitude; but, in the variety of talents and acquirements which our members possess, and our volumes would display, we should be able to claim relationship with every society in the kingdom, and to reciprocate kindly offices with all of them that are valuable.

There is one other fact, not necessarily connected with Literature or Science, and yet it is of so interesting a character that I cannot conclude without at least a passing notice of it. It is, that during the whole cycle of three years which is now closing, the utmost harmony and unanimity have prevailed. I am not aware that in all that time the Society has even come to a division in voting; but trivial objections have been waived, mutual concessions have been spontaneously made, and our decisions have been not merely harmonious but unanimous. I need not say that such a state of things is rare; it is almost unparalleled. The success which has attended the labours of the Society, and the high esteem into which it has risen during a brief course of six years, are appropriate results of this high tone of feeling, and becoming rewards to those who have earnestly cultivated it. For my own part, I can truly say, that such labours on behalf of the Society as have fallen to my share have been divested almost of the appearance of toil; by the kindness which sustained, and the zeal and intelligence which encouraged. However high may be the destinies of the Society in the future, and the prospect is all encouraging, I will cherish a kindly remembrance of the gentlemen who figured in its early history, and to the exercise of whose clear heads and sound hearts the present measure of success is mainly attributable.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETINGS.

Royal Institution, 9th March, 1854, 1 p.m.

The Venerable ARCHDEACON BROOKS, Vice President, in the Chair.

[This Meeting was called "to take into consideration a 'Report of the Delegates from the four Learned Societies of Liverpool, which publish Transactions, on the subject of Union.'"]

The subject of Union was brought formally before these four Societies, by a meeting of gentlemen who are members of two or more of them, held at the Egyptian Museum, Colquitt Street, on the 18th of October, 1853. At the Annual General Meeting on the 18th of October, five Delegates were appointed, consisting of Dr. Thom, Vice President,* the Treasurer, Curator, and two Secretaries. A similar number were appointed by each of the other three Societies, and the Report was their joint and unanimous production. It recommended that the Architectural and Archæological Society should remain as it is; but that a great Society should be formed from the members of the others. Such a Society should have sectional divisions for Archæology, Literature, Natural History and Science; and members of Council representing those subjects respectively. The union of the Historic Society and Literary and Philosophical Society was recommended in the strongest terms; and that of the Polytechnic with these was considered on the whole desirable.]

The following Resolutions were adopted unanimously :—

1. That the Report having been sent to each Member, be now considered as read.
2. [A resolution of the Council, of date 1st March, having been read, recommending the adoption of the Report,] That the Report be adopted.
3. That the best thanks of the Society be given to the Delegates of this Society; and that they be re-appointed† to assist in preparing a Code of Laws, and in making such further arrangements as may be necessary for the completion of the Union.
4. That the best thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Brakell, for his generous donation of a thousand copies of the Report, to the Learned Societies of the town.

* As he was unable to attend from ill health, his place was occupied by John Mather, Esq.

† The Literary and Philosophical Society, on adopting the Report, 31st March, having appointed ten delegates, the Historic Society subsequently added five others.

Clarendon Rooms, 22nd June, 1854, 2 p.m.

JOHN POOLE, Esq., in the Chair.

[This Meeting was called "to receive the Report of the Delegates who were appointed (9th March) 'to assist, &c.' Also, to make such provision for contingencies, on the subject of Union, as the Meeting may think necessary." It was recommended, in the Report itself, that it be adopted, "subject to such revision as may be thought necessary at a joint meeting of the members of the two* Societies." Part of the Report consisted of a new Code of Laws.]

The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

1. That the Report, with the exception of Law I,† be adopted; subject to such revision as may be thought necessary, at a joint meeting of the members of both Societies.
2. That on the subject of a Name, two principles only appear to be equitable,—viz., the avoidance of the names of both the uniting Societies, as suggested in the former Report, or the union of both, as suggested in this,—either of which principles this Society is prepared to adopt; but as it does not, on the one hand, insist on the retention of its own name merely, so it will not, on the other, accept the name of the Society proposing to unite with it.
3. That in the event of any difficulty arising on the part of the Literary and Philosophical Society, respecting this Report, or even in the event of unnecessary delay, this Society is prepared to extend its basis of operations from local to general,—on the two great principles of both Reports, viz., increase of desirable members, and sectional working: and the Council are hereby authorised and directed to take such steps as may be necessary to provide for this contingency; their arrangements to be submitted for approval to another Special General Meeting of the Members.
4. That the Corresponding Secretary be directed to forward a copy of these Resolutions to the Secretary of the Literary and Philosophical Society.

* The Polytechnic Society had declined to join in the Union.

† This referred to the *name* of the enlarged Society.

APPENDIX.

From the local interest which is naturally attached to the subject, the Council have resolved to print the whole of the Ireland Letters, from which the first paper in the volume is compiled. They are given in an Appendix, and in smaller type, that the subject may not seem to "override" others of importance. In this instance, as in previous ones, an approximation is made to several well-known contractions, owing to the absence of special types.

I.—Announcement of MR. STANLEY'S Death.

[A l^{re} from Mr. Boyer.]*
ffor the much Honrd S^r
Gilbert Ireland Kn^t
These p. sent
p^r the postm^t of Warrington
to be sent as above directed.
Warrington Lancashire

Jerman street 25th Octob^r 1670.

Honrd S^r

Yesterday the parliam^t met at Westm^r and his Ma^{tie} 'bout 10 of y^e Clocke went to y^e Howse, and made a speech to this purpose, That there was a necessity of keeping out Constantly at Sea a fleet of 50 sayle of Ships and represented to them the Charges thereof; and desired they would take Care to give him a supply of money, this is all for the forepart of the day, the later affoards mee a sad story to tell you w^{ch} is that about 3 of the Clock dyed that worthy gent; Mr. William Stanley who really is much lamented heere.

The Prince of Orrange is dayly Exspected heere the Earle of Ossory being gone ov^r for him, the Lodgings p^rpared for him are at the Cockpit at Whythall, where the Generall lived. This is ye whole at this tyme p^rsenting, as any thing materiall offers shall kisse yo^r hands from

S^r yo humble Serv^t

THOMAS BOWYER.

II.—MR. WHARTON becomes a Candidate. Application through his father.

[A l^{re} from Esq^r Wharton.]
For S^r Gilbert Ireland a
Member in Parliament
at his House Hale
Warrington bag
Franke Lancasherre

Yellow Ball Lincolnes Innefeilds 25 8ber 1670.

Deare Cosen

Yo^r brother Burgeesse for Leverpoole dyed Tuesday last, my earnest request is y^t you will please to lay out yo^r interest for my eldest son (Robert Wharton) in Leverpoole. It is not proper for mee to recommend him, onely acquaint you y^t hee has a generall acquaintance of the Nobility under 40 yeares of age. A great respect at the Middle temple, where has been neare 4 yeares especially amongst the Benchers, & whilst continued at Merton Coll. amongst the fellowes where hee was 4 yeares. ffor since his age of 14 yeares alwise frequented Mens Comp^y and noe way debauched nor swearer.

* The announcements given in this form, are written on the backs of the folded letters, in a uniform hand. They are apparently by a Steward, or superior servant, for in one of them he speaks of "my master." They serve to indicate the contents.

I have endeavoured to give him an inspeccon in trade and therein has improved very much these 12mo: last past. You have heard I presume y^t I am a great trader very few in England trade more, and I think in the best comodity of England in w^{ch} I consume of my own growth at least 10000^{li} p^r an^m for keepe 1000 men at worke every day. What you lay out in treats to y^r towne shall bee thankfully repayd either by returne or if you charge a bill on mee.

My son is gone this evening to my Lord St John (for sooner wee did not heare of Mr Stanlys death) who I know will bestir himself to get his Nephew Colchester's letter to my Ld Derby, & to doe any other respect of a freind and neighbour both here & in the Country had experience thereof & of the E of Carlisle to Scarborough vpon Sr Jordan Crosland's decease but y^r towne was preengaged 10 dayes befor Sr Jordan dyed w^{ch} occasions this trouble on you.

Mr Dobson of Grayes Inne, my Lord Gerard's freind, intends to stand, & Mr Otway this day moued for a writ, w^{ch} is granted. I am sure if my son were as well acq^{ed} wth y^r townes men as Mr Dobson says hee is, a native would for there interest accept of y^r stranger. But though a stranger in yo^r Country yet a Northerne Man for I have considerable estates in Yorke shire County of Durham & West more land, in any of these Countyes much better then Mr Dobson has in all y^r world.

The effect of y^e kings speech was y^t has renewed the triple league, intends to fit out next spring 50 Sayle for security of trade & in regard y^e french have yearly since dutch war built severall vessells, he has done y^e like, & y^e fitting of 50 Sayle y^e charg & paying y^m: will amount to 800000^{li}. This day your house has voted nemine contradicente to furnishe y^e king wth a supply, the Modus left to future debate. S^r Rob^t Howard S^r fletsw. Hollis & Col^t Seymour rec^d into y^e kings favo^r y^e prince of Orange every day expected for y^e winde stands faire for him. I will trouble you noe Longer but onely tell you I am

Deare S^r

Yo^r affect Cosen & Servant

HUM. WHARTON.

III.—Mr. Ross becomes a Candidate. Letter enclosing another from the Duke of Monmouth.

[A 1st fro: Mr. Greenhaigh.]

Theis

ffor S^r Gilbert Ireland

Knight at Bewsey

neare Warrington.

Lancaashire.

Noble S^r

I beseech you forgive this bouldnes and trouble, not onely in writeinge my selfe but conductinge this inclosed to you. I confess I am solicited to it by some Persons that neer relate to y^e Lord Keeper (soe have a power uppon mee), to joine my suite to you with others, that you would give your assistance w^{ch} I have assured them is verie powerfull in y^e electinge of a Burgess for y^r worthy corporation at Leverpoole, of w^{ch} I haveing y^e honor to bee a freeman doe hope to bee there to give my vote.

S^r I must begg y^r pardon alsoe y^t I cannot acquaint you wth y^e Persons name, but his qualities I am assured are verie great, and a greater kindness cannot be shewed to y^e Duk of Monmouth then in appearing for him, but his name must not bee vs'd vnless there bee verie good hopes of his carryinge it. If my engagements to serve y^a would add any thinge to y^r endeavours in this concerne, I would assure you, that none shall soe willingly serue you, as

Honor^d S^r

London Oct^{ber}

y^e 26th 1670.

Y^r most humble & ready Seruant

THO GRENEHALGH.

S^r for feare of miscarage

I put you to y^e charge of postage

and if you please direct y^m

to Mr John Starkies bookesellor

at y^e Temple bar.

IV.—*The Duke of Monmouth's Application on behalf of Mr. Ross.*[A l^{re} from the Duke of Monmouth.]To S^r Gilbert Ireland
these.S^r

I writ by the last Post to my Lord of Derby on behalfe of my Secretary (Mr Ross) whom I have recommended to bee Burgess for Leverpoole, lately vacant by the death of my Cornet Mr William Stanley, and vnderstanding y^t you are the other Burgess, for that Corporacon, I doe very heartily recommend this Person to You, as one of whom I have had long Experience for his Integrity and capacity to serve y^{em} in Court or Parlement, in any their Concernes, to w^{ch} if they shall thinke fit to gratify Mee in this particular, I shall contribute my endeavours, and on all occasions shall readily shew my acknowledgement in being

S^rY^r affectionate friendWhitehall octob. 27.
1670.

MONMOUTH.

V.—*A Further Application on behalf of Mr. Ross.*[A l^{re} from Capⁿ. Smith.]To S^r Gilb. Ireland
at Hale these present
By Warrington post
LancashireHonrd S^r

Nothinge but a Confidence wee had of seeinge you at London on Tuesday last, could have made mee omitt giveinge you an account by that post, of the losse of my once deare Master, but now I despair of your appearance, (haveinge this morneinge had a discourse with J Legh) of yo^r resolues eyther to bee here the first weeke of this Session or not at all. But the great number of Candidats for yo^r Bro: Burgesse his place, I suppose will not let you bee without many very troublesome addresses for yo^r interest and freindship. I heare my Capitaine (his Grace of Monmouth) has epistled you to y^t purpose, and therefore vnder his vmbrage I may more safely beg (this always supposed y^t you are vnder noe former obligation) y^t you would befreind Mr Rosse y^e p^{son} y^t hee is concerned for, hee is a very honest Gentleman and my old freind. My L. of Derby has a letter from the Duke to y^e same purpose; when the Lady Dorchester receaues her Bro. Derbys resentm^{tes} of My Masters death I will give you an account of the [arrange^{ments} for his funerall, which I hope they'l contriue to bee suitable to his worth, for which if they [want] hints they may bee plentifully furnished from the sorrowes of a[l]l those y^t ever knew him. S^r I beg you to present my most humble service to My Lady and to beliene y^t noe man would [haue] beene gladder to haue kissd your handes here then

Yo^{rs} ever to Command

FRANK SMITH.

Oct y^e 29th

I heare honrble Mr Dobson is over-
p. swaded to quit his Modesty and Stand
for it. A pratty bro: Bur: by this Graund.

VI.—SIR GEORGE LANE becomes a Candidate. Colonel Worden writes on his behalf

[A l^{re} from Coll Worden.]

for S^r Gilbert Ireland at
Hale in Lanckashire
to be sent from the
Poste house in Warrington
Lanckashire.

My hord Brother

S^t James'es 29th
Oct^r 70

At the commands of a very greate man, & the intreaty of himselfe, (my very good friend,) I write this to desire yo^r favor & assistance to S^r George Lane whoe is intended to stand to be elected at Leverpoole to serve in the roome of dead Mr Stanley. Wee hear the person intended to stand against him is Mr Dobson, betwixt whome & S^r George there is no comparisson; Besides, in appeareinge for S^r George you will oblige a greate many good men here, Wherefore I hope you are vnder no preingagement, but free to doe this favor for

yo^r olde affectionate Brother

& faithfull servant

RO WORDEN.

VII.—SIR WILLIAM BUCKNALL becomes a Candidate. Double Letter from Colonel Birch on his behalf.

[Coll Burches l^{re} to the May^r and Aldermen of Limerpoole Concerning the Eleccion of Bucknell to be their Burgess.][Colonell Birch his Lett^{rs} to the Mayor of Liverpoole]Mr Major^r & Gent.

This day comeinge out of y^e howse I was Advised y^t Mr Standley yo^r Burgesse is Dead, And I beinge supposed to haue some Interest wth yo^a was Immediatly solicited to moue yo^a for sev^{al}l p^{er}sons (but all in vaine) for I must and will follow yo^r Interest, and advise you to that as maybee p^{er}suante there vnto; And therefore in few words say, that if yo^a haue of yo^r owne number that yo^a thinke fi^{tt} I by all means advise yo^a to him as most naturall; And bee it whome yo^a please, he shall for ever Command my Service. But if yo^a judge none of yo^r owne fitt, Then as yo^r business now stands, I have thought of a person, who if any in England is able to serve yo^a and beare upp against opposers; Itt is S^r William Bucknell. Hee is farmer of all the Customes and Excise in Ireland, with his p^{ar}ners, but hee is Cheife; Likewise farmer of much in England; one who hath a grate Interest wth y^e kinge, by lendingge him aboue one hundred Thousand pounds, (And Soe able to serve yo^a) and give Check-mate to yo^r opposers. And yett a true Lover of Sober Interests w^{ch} all Sober men wish well to; And if yo^a be disappointed herein, blame mee, and though hee cannot come and drinke as some others yett hee shall p^{re}snt yo^a for the poore wth what I shall judge convenient, who yo^a know am yo^r owne. I have noe more of this business, but yo^r Interest in this busines if yo^a Dare trust mee: w^{ch} cann by noe p^{er}son bee soe effectually carried on as the Gent afores^d And therefore hee is earnestly Comended;

By yo^r verie Loueinge

ffrend & Brother

JOHN BIRCH.

I pray returne mee yo^r thoughts of this matter as Soone as may bee; wth y^e king; as to yo^r trade wth Ireland, and as to yo^r p^{re}snt Contention about yo^r p^{ri}uiledges, and for y^r future Advancem^{ts} in all yo^r Desires; as well as his affection to a true Sober Interest, none in my oppinion can bee pitcht on like him, wherein if hee faile, Blame yo^r serv^{ts}

JOHN BIRCH.

Mr Major

In my last I commended vnto yo^a in y^e place of Mr Standley S^r William Bucknell, to serue yo^a in Parliam^t vnlesse yo^a choose one of y^r owne number ; And in that lett^r I gave yo^a an Accompt of his Abillitie to serue yo^a both as to your p^{re}sent Contention wth yo^r neighbour Lord, and the whole trade of yo^r Towne. Since when I have herd, that some Interest was makinge to the Earle of Derby, others to Gent & Lords about yo^a. Indeed none of the p^{er}sons I heard of are able to serue yo^a ; And soe soone as this day I named S^r William Bucknell most of them Laied downe, and I thinke none will considerably contend, if they doe, I pray advise mee timely : And if this Gentleman serue not yo^r Interest more then any man yo^a cann Choose in England, then Blame

Gent

yo^r true frend

Excise office

JOHN BIRCH.

29th octob^r (70)

I have Appoynted my Sonne to pay for any dinners or other meetings yo^a judge Convenient and draw the Bills on mee : Besides hee shall doe for the Towne some eminent thinge as yo^a & I shall agree. I pray let mee frequently heare from yo^a

VIII.—*The MAYOR OF LIVERPOOL writes respecting a new Writ.*

[A l^{re} fro: ye May^r of Liu^rpoolle.]

These

To the Right Wor^{sh} S^r
Gilbert Ireland Knight att
Hale

p^{re}sent

Right worpp^{le}

Bad newes never wants wings ; and by that meanes the notice of yo^r Losse as well as ours, arrived hastily, to our great astonishment, who never had heard of his least Sicknes. It is our great happines, that wee can make our addresses to y^r selfe, who is now reserued as the surviving hopes, and support in our troubles. Wee therefore Request (what yo^a have gen^{er}ously offered) yo^r Care to hasten downe A writt for a new Elecc^{on}, and that it may be sent directly to our hands in the management whereof wee hope yo^r aduice and best assistance will not be wantinge to vs ; who are alwayes made more cheerful in any opp^{or}tunitys how troublesome soever, that may invite you hither where wee shall be alwayes ready to embrace y^r direcons and Remaine

S^r yo^r obliged freind to serve yo^a

Liu^rpoolle 29th octob^r
1870.

THO JOHNSON.

IX.—*MR. WHARTON, the Candidate, on his own behalf.*

[A l^{re} from Mr. Robert Wharton.]

For my hon^{ed} Cosen
S^r Gilbert Ireland
A Member of Par. at
Hale in Lancashire
p^r Warrington
packet

S^r

My father by the last post gave you the trouble of a l^{et} in my behalfe, for the Burgeships vacancy at Leverpoole, y^r interest in that antient burrough I know is very great, and doe make it my humble desire that you would be pleased to use it upon my

account which favour shall ever be acknowledged by mee, and be endeavoured to be required in any service that may lye in my power. Hearing that my Lord Derby was a neighbour to the towne, and one of his family being the late deceased burgesse, I have endeavoured to procure his interest there by a le^r from the Lord S^t John to him & to my Lord Colchester; & my Lady S^t John's le^r to her sister the Countess of Rivers, who probably may have an interest there by obligeing my Lord Colchester the more firmly for mee, I heare that Mr Dobson my L^d Gerard's solicitor solely stands for it, the effects of his le^r I suppose he expects by y^e next post to understand; desire the favour to heare from you with y^e advice how I shall p. ceed in this affaire, begging pardon for this trouble to oblige

Your affect Cosen

& most humble Servant,

Lincolnes Inne feilds
Oct 29th

ROBERT WHARTON.

I have been with my Ld Keeper concerning the writ, & shall take care that it be carefully sent downe; if it does not come by tuesday's post, I doubt we must stay till a new sheriff be prickt.

X.—MR. ALEXANDER RIGBY, *on behalf of Sir George Lane.*

[Mr Alex Rigbie's l^r.]

These
To S^r Roger Bradshaigh
K^t at Haygh near
Wigan in

"Cosen Rigbys Oong S^r George Lane
Lancashire

p^r sent
for a Burges of Leirpoole."

Deare S^r

I was desired this day by my L^d Duke of Ormond to request of y^e the favour (if y^e be not p^ringaged) to afford y^e assistance to w^t Interest you haue In Leverpoole to haue S^r George Lane Chosen a burgesse for Parliam^t In the Roome of my Maist^r Stanley for whose Losse I am sure yo^e are true a mourner. there are severall here y^e will put In for itt (that Live here) Mr Ashursts sonne the draper, one of the Mr Halsalls, Mr Rosse a scotchman by a lre from the Duke of Munmouth (for whom franke Smith apearces), And Ned Dobson against all. I know y^e soe good a Judge how suitable & advantageous the Interest of my L^d Ormond may bee for the towne of Leverpoole, that I shall not p^rsume to use arguments to desire y^e Concurrence to my Ld's request. S^r here is noe newes but this day was the Lord Mayor's Show, according to Custome, and the Prince of Orange Expected to-morrow. I conclude y^e any further trouble wth the assurance If y^e haue any service to Command, none shall bee more truly observant then

Y^r Affectionate obliged serv^t

London Oct^{br} 29th
1670.

ALEXAND^r RIGBYE.

I pray my service to my Lady & madam Betty; my duty to my fath^r & love to my broth^r if y^e please to afford mee a lyne direct it to y^e owne Lodginge the flyeing horse.

* Written between the lines of the Address.

XI.—*The EARL OF DERBY states the Position of Affairs.*[A l^{re} from the Hon^{ble} the lord of Derby.]

For S^r Gilbert
Ireland
These.

Knowseley 30 Octo 1670

S^r

Mr Mayor of Leuerpoole with some of his brethren were with me this day, & haue been very earnest with me to putt of any thing of a result till they next come hither, w^{ch} they say, wilbe, assoone as the writte of Election comes to Mr Mayor. I told you, S^r, when you were here with me (for your visitt & condoling with me I returne you my very hearty thanks, & acknowledgement) that I had receaved from the Corporation of Leuerpoole an intimation that they had some thoughts of desiring Mr Spencer of Ashton might be theire burgesse. w^{ch} made me use this expression to the mayor &c. when with me this day, that I concealed Mr Spencer a very fitt person but withall told them the Duke of Monmouth had writte to me on the behalf of Mr Rosse his Grace's Secretary, so that I hoped they would pitch upon one of these. they have demurred (as I told you before) so that I expect to heare further from them, either as to the one or the other, or neither; & this is all the account you can have at this time from one that is really

S^rY^r affte freind

& seruant

DERBY.

“Received y^e i of November, 5 a clock afternoone.”XII.—*The EARL OF ANCRAM on behalf of Sir George Lane.*[A l^{re} from my lord Ancrum.]For S^r Gilbert Irland.London Nouem^{br} 1 1670.S^r

Since y^r occasions haue not yet giuen you leaue to come up, as all y^r friends heer did hope, I take the liberty of giving you this trouble, on the behalfe of a very worthy person, and a particular friend of myne, (S^r George Lane) who has so many recommendations from this place, in order to his Election at Leverpoole, that his great respect for you will not either let him hope or adde to his indeavours before hee make his addresse to y^r selfe, w^{ch} I haue vndertaken to Convey to you, and if he wanted greater recommendations then his name cary's euery where, you would have his charactar from the Throane even downe to my selfe, but his merriits, and principles as well as Loyalty are so obvious every where, that I am sure you cannot pick out a worthier partner, besides his interest in Irland being equall to what hee has in publick relation & concerne heer, may bee of soe great advantage to y^r towne, that when they vnderstand it, the must needs think themselves most happy in such a person, w^{ch} becaus y^r relation to the place is soe great, as well as power, I doe not question the successe vpon y^r appearing for him, w^{ch} I shall not dispute vpon y^r receiving this jnformation, as well as earnest desire from one who is soe much y^r servant as my selfe, and has so many tyes of blood and obligation to all Lancashier, and having said thus much, I am sure S^r Gilbert Irland is a person of so much honor, and is so much my friend, that I will not at [all] doubt that event in this affair w^{ch} shall allwaies oblige mee to remayne

S^rY^r most affectionat friend

& humble Servant

ANCRAM.

XIII.—SIR GILBERT IRELAND *replies to LORD DERBY's letter* (No. XI.)

[Copie of a lett^r
to my lord of

Darby.] My Lord

Hale Novem^{br} 1. (1670)

My sence of y^r Lrd^{sh} favo^r is very full, my thankes sho^d I studdy expressions foa y^m w^d fall very short, and then my Lord w^t weakness must of necessity attend me in y^e due returne for yo^r condicension in suffering me to understand any thing of y^r pleasure; It seemes y^e Liverpoldons attended you not to engage but to keepe you vningaged, I did thinke they would have desired yo^r Lrd^{sh} proposall of some fitt person for theire Burgesse, and from thence have derived to y^m selves a prosperous eleccion, but I perceive demur is their petition, & w^t may be y^r intention I cannot guesse. I hartily wish a worthy successor to yo^r noble brother who may be every way fitt to serue y^e towne y^e countrie y^e kingdom and y^r Lrd^{sh} in yo^r whole interests w^{ch} shall allways oblige to yor servise him who is my Lord, yor most affectionate & humble seruant

G. IRELAND.

My Lord I have heard nothing from y^e towne, nor any of y^m since I wayted on you.

XIV.—SIR GEOFFREY SHAKERLEY *interests himself for* SIR GEORGE LANE.

[A l^r from Sir Jeffrey Shakerley.]

for S^r Roger Bradshaigh
att haigh neare
Wiggan

"for S^r George Lane a Burges
for Leirpoole" *

Geoffrey Shakerly.*

honest Roger

I hane by the last poast receiued letters from London, one from the Duke of Ormond another from Thomas Cholmundeley, all of them desireing mee to use my endauors that S^r georg Lane may be Cosin att Leuerpoole in Mr Stanley's roome, who I can assure youe is a very worthy person and wilbe as able to serve them in relation to theire [affairs] in england and Ireland as any I know, he haneing soe great an intrest in the duke of Ormond and that family which if they consult theire owne intrest they can not make a better choyese for themselues. your concurrence to affect the desires of soe worthy freinds is the request I make unto thee, and I dout not but thoue wilt grant itt mee and use thy intrest herein. I conceiue if youe will giue your selfe the troble to see S^r Gilbert Ireland and moue him to be assisting herein itt will conduce much to the worke if he but make it his request to hane S^r george for to be his partner. Youe can contriue well, therefore if possible contriue to giue mee a good answere to this as soone as possible youe can, and then I will say Drunken or sober thou Loueist

thy faithfull seruant

and Brotherinlaw

GEOFFREY SHAKERLEY.

lett me know if any person labor for itt and who itt is; if any person of qualitie as the Lord coul-Chester or other, S^r george will disitst. Dobson is saide to labor for itt.

* Written under the Address.

XV.—LADY SOUTHAMPTON *on behalf of* Mr. Ross.[Lady Southampton's l^{re}.]ffor S^r Gilbert Ireland
these wth Speed.Nouemb y^e 4th 70S^r

vpon y^e death of Mr Will^m Stanly Burgess for Liuerpooles, I am solicted by y^e Duke of Monmoth to vse y^t interest I haue with y^e & other friends in lancashire for y^e procuring y^e place for a friend of his one Mr Ross y^t hath bin his tutor from a child & as he is recommended to me a person excelently well accomplished & euery ways qualified for such a place being a sober vnderstanding learned honest man & one in great fauor at court though not of y^e same temper y^t y^e world commonly calls courtiers; if you inquire farther concerning him I am confident y^e will find y^t I haue bin rather too spairing then too prodigall in my prayeses of him: S^r if y^e can any ways serue him as I doubt not but y^e may haue soe great an influence one y^e towne of Liuerpooles y^e will lay a great obligation one y^e Duke & in pardoning of this y^e will doe no less to me who am

Y^r humble seruantmy seruice to
y^r lady.

F. SOUTHAMPTON.

XVI.—MR. ASHURST *applies. Prospects of the Candidates, and general gossip.*[A l^{re} fro Mr Parcevall of Liur'pooles.]ffor S^r Gilbert
Ireland at
Hale House.Linarpooles this 4th Nouemb^r 1670

Honored

S^r yestardaye Came a letter to Mr Maior from Mr Ashurst that he will stand for Burges Thoe There are lettars and Indeavors to take him of & that by some as Mr Maior who is right Enuffe for him but being in feere he Can not Cary, and then the Alderⁿ his Brethren soe full of S^r Bucknall doeing great matters for the towne. In this Junkture the Ritt cam^e yestarnight aboute 7 of the Cloke to hand. I think the Insist upon wednesday senit for the Election Tho Bucknall preses to haue it soonar. the Lord of darby vseth much meanes for S^r Bucknell & hee him selfe leaves noe stone vtturned.

I bee leue all meanes will bee used to Ashurst Ethar by or from his Lordship or to youre worship; the Lord directt you which is all but loue to youre selfe and good Lady.

I rest

yours Humb
Servant RICHARD
PERCIVALL.

it is heere reported that
John Birch had a snub in the
House aboute the ritt & that some
should sae he was tould y^e had rather
sent a troope to force the tower or had
the sent a troope with much more. I Can not
tell how with Just truth to Report but shall
further advise youre worship as I heere.

The Report heere that the Lord of Coul Chestar
Came to S^r Bucknell to Bankhall or mett him theire
& ofred him the lord mulinex Helpe or Interest but
all is True I think is spoke & soe had rather be silent.

XVII.—SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH *encloses* SIR GEOFFREY SHAKNELBY's letter (No. XIV,) and *applies on behalf* of SIR GEORGE LANE.

[A l^{re} from Sir Roger Bradshaw.]

For
the Hon^{ble} S^r Gilbert Ireland
at his house Bewsey
neare Warrington,
Theis

honrd S^r

You may p^{cease} by the enclosed how I am solicited on the behalf of a very worthy p^{son} to bee your Partner for the Towne of Leirpoole in my Mr Stanley's Roome, I have the hon^r to know S^r George Lane and cannot but Confirme and humbly desyre what is mooved, if you bee not already preingaged; you know my Relation and freindship to my Lord Molineux soe that what Comes from mee may bee the worse taken by the Leirpoltionians but I confide in a p^{son} of your worth not to make that use of it; if you please to signifye to mee what may possibly bee done in the Case, and how you are ingaged if you bee at all and for whom if you think fitt yet to declare I shall take itt as a fauour. I had wayted vpon you myselfe but hearing you weare resolv'd to goe to Parl^t I thought I might loose my Labor soe begging your pardon for this bould trouble with my wife's and my faythfull seruise to y^r selfe and good Lady I rest

Your very humble servant

haigh Nene^{br}
the 5th
1670

ROGER BRADSHAIGH,

XVIII.—THE MAYOR and CORPORATION are invited to confer with LORD DERBY.

[A Note from the May^r of Linpoole.]

To
The hon^{ble} S^r
Gilbert Ireland
these

Hon^{ble} S^r

The Earle hath this day sent for us to come to Knowsley on Monday next. if you please shall be at Thomas Hodgson's in Hyton, by ten in the forenoone at furthest, but we shall be there before to waite on you. S^r

Yo^r humble Ser^{ts}

Liverpoole 5th Novemb^r
70

THOMAS JOHNSON.

XIX.—SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE a Candidate. Application on his behalf from his cousin SIR RICHARD TEMPLE.

[Sir Temple's l^{re}]

For S^r Gilbert Ireland
a Member of Parlim^t
at his house near
Warrington in
Lancashire

S^r

Although I haue neither merit nor particular Service to pretend, either to entitle me to yo^r freindship or warrant this presumption, yet the knowledge I haue of yo^r worth, and the long acquaintance had of each other in those publicke employ-^{mts} we have bene & still are mutually engaged in, hath flatter'd me in this confidence, that to offer you an occasion of obligeing me would not be unwelcome to you. This hath encouraged me to craue yo^r assistance to a neere relacon of mine S^r W^m Temple

the now Embassad^r in Holland, who is invited by some freinds of his to endeav^r to be elected in the vacant place of Liverpoole, to w^{ch} I am assured by Co^{ll} Kerby and others of our freinds that yo^r Interest might very much contribute, of his worth I shall say little, it being so publickly knowne, only thus much I may I hope say without being suspected for relacon or flattery, the Interest and reputation he hath acquired in his publick employm^t doe render him at least as capable of serving that Towne his Country and freinds as any of the pretenders I have yett heard of, to w^{ch} I may add that I doubt not of my Lord Molinax his concurrence, wth such of the Towne as relate to the Trade betwixt that Towne & Ireland who most of them have bene and yet may be further obliged to his father & the Master of the Rolls of Ireland & his brother the king's Sollicit^r Gen^l there; But now S^r least after all I should be so unhappy to come to late & find you possibly under some preingagement, I think fit to adde

fav^r me to turn over

I am informed from very good hands that Mr Ross, S^r George Lane, & most of the rest of the pretenders have declined it, & as for Mr Dobson he hath not only done so too, but I am in very fayre hopes by the assistance of Co^{ll} Kerby to dispose him and his Interest to contribute to my Cousin's Election. The only remaining competiti^r I heare of is Alderman Bucknall upon Birch his accompt, & to whome I hope you are not under any p^{re} obligacon. But I have forgot my selfe & have now another apology to make for the length of this paper, yett I cannot dispayre of yo^r candid interpretacon of both, I have only one more request to make ere I conclude, that you would at least countenance both so farre, as to use the like freedome upon all occasions wth

S^r

Y^r very humble Serv^t

from the Parlim^t house
Nov^{br} 7th

RICH^d TEMPLE.

70

XX.—*Mr. Dobson, the Candidate, presses his own cause. He writes to the Mayor.*

[A lre from Mr Dobson]

Mr Mayor,

by this post y^e writt for elecon of a Burges at Liverpoole comes to Mr Hodgekinson's hand to Preston, & a p.ticular messenger I p.sume will be appointed to receive it who is to bring it to the Sherr. y^t hee may make his p.cept to y^e Mayor & Baylifes. y^a are to contynue y^e office till y^e Sherr still in Lond be served with a Moveas Man^t in p.son & y^a bee by the Sherr assured of it & soe discharged. I desyne to stay y^e elecon at Liverpoole all I can, y^t I may be p.sent there & handsomely enter-tayne all but espially y^e out Burgesses. Mr Entwisle & I agree But Bucknall a Brewer in Lond lately knighted will presse hard to speed it & hath got our Chancello^r of the Dutcheys lre to recomend him to y^e Towne w^{ch} he doth by Colour of his office affirming his p.decessors hath done y^e like w^{ch} if not true he may heare of from some members of the house of Comons, & Mr Vicechancellor unwillingly hath writt his lre to y^e Town to recomend y^e Chancello^r lre and also hath writt this post to Luke Hodgekinson to passe y^e writt with all speed if Mr Kallett or any other shall happen to bee sworne und^r sherr. use y^e endeavours to stopp it, till I can heare from y^a for I cannot but apprehend it to bee an app^t abuse to y^e Town & County y^t they should bee soe und^r valued as to bee thought unworthy as y^t none of them should bee so able to serve Burges of Liverpoole as a Brewer in Lodⁿ who hath not been thought fitt to bee a Burges where he lives pray wth all Speed aq^t S^r Gilbert Ireland wth this & lett mee know if I may rely upon his obliging of his Interest. I'll spare neither paynes nor purse to pvent this affront intended uppon our Country, I have writt to Raphael Hollinshead to goe speedily to Liverpoole & to take upp all Inns & lodgeings for out burges & to pvide p.visions & sufficiency of good liquor for all. If hee find any Consid.ble p.ty in y^e Town y^t will resolutely Stand by mee I pray see him & advise with him & in this Junet^r spare noe paines nor Charge to stand by

Y^r Assured freind

9^{br} 9th 70

EDW. DOBSON.

XXI.—MR. WHARTON, the Candidate, presses his own cause.

[A lre from Mr Robert Wharton]

For the hon^d S^r Gilbert
Ireland at Hale in
Lancashire by
Warrington packet

S^r

This comes to informe you that the writ for the Election of the vacant Burgeship at Leverpoole was signed by S^r Thomas Ingram Chancellor of the Dutchy on thursday & sent downe to his office at Praeston by that night's post; so thinke it will come to Leverpoole y^e beginning of y^e next weeke: I hope among the crowde of strangers that stand for the place, that I may have y^e hon^r of y^r assistance in the election; hope my L^d of Derby will not in the least oppose me, but rather further me with his interest; have the promise of my L^d Colchester to use his interest with him for mee. S^r I leave all to y^r care hoping to heare good newes shortly; (if you please to treat the towne, or any other way that may advance my election, shall very thankfully repay you;) my father p. sents his most humble service to you; The house is now very close upon S^r Rob^t Howard's propositions for farming the Excize; I shall be very happy in seeing of you in towne; hope the great esteeme that you have for doeing y^r country service will give us here the happiness of y^r company before Christmas which is much desired by him who is S^r

Your affec^t Cosen

& most humble servant

Lincolnes Inne feilds
No y^e 12 70

ROBERT WHARTON.

XXII.—SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH acknowledges the reply to his letter of the 5th, (No. xvii,) and asks for a List of the Burgesses.

[A lre from Sir Roger Bradshaigh.]

For
The hon^{ble} S^r Gilbert Ireland
theise

with all seruise

hon^d S^r

I humbly thank you for the (whole) of y^r returne to the trouble I gave you, and shall take notice of all your advertizments, and put them in execution as soone and effectually as I can, though my engagement heare till Thursday will delay mee a litle, however I intend (God willing) for Croxtoth upon Munday, and in the meane tyme I shall send to S^r Jeffrey, and you shall heare further from mee as to our meetinge, the Ould Coll Nowell my present Landlord presents his humble seruise to you, and wee are now drincking your health, soe with my affectionate seruise presented to y^r selfe, and good Lady I subscribe myselfe

Y^r very humble servant

from Read hall

ROGER BRADSHAIGH.

Nouemb^r the 15th
1670

if you could procure, and send mee a Copy of the list of free-men and Burgesses, it would much anail as to the engaging of the (outt) Burgesses, for I cannot remember, or know otherwayse who they are.

XXIII.—[A note of Some freemen of Liu'poole.]*

Wm Banckes Esq.	Jo Johnson	Ed Taylor	Ja Nowell
Barth Hesketh Esq.	G Tactleton	Jo Francis	P Cropper
Tho Birch Senior Esq.	Jo Lyon	R Whitfield	Hen Mercer

* This is undated; and it is inserted here, as it was probably procured partly in compliance with the request in the postscript. It is arranged in four columns, as in the text.

Jo Holcroft g.	Geo Tacleton	Hu Higson	R Mercer
Sr Jo Booth	T Percivall	Wm Plomb	H Withington
Sr P Brook	Jo Melling	Ro Mollyneux	Jo Hartley
H Ogle g.	Geo Lambert	Wm Wolfall	Tho Plomb
Jo Sorocold g.	H Finch	Ol. Lyme	Ed Hesketh
R Hecknell	Ra Bellin	Ro Crossman	Mr G Aspinwall
H Dicconson Esq.	Geo Smily	Austin Wilkins	Mr W Patten
Wm West Esq.	R Raccliffe	H Hecknell	Tho Morecroft
Wm flyffe Esq.	Tho flarrer	Ja Smool	H Cooper
H Stanley	Ro Eaton	W Gleave	Gilbert Tarleton
And Ashton	Hen Gregson	Tho Lyon	Edmund Lyon
Ro fidler	Tho Crompton	Pet ^r Ball	Jo Ditefeild
P Parr	Wm ffazakerley	Tho Lyon	Chr Marsden
Tho Duke	Jo Ambros	Hen Recroft	Lau Smith
R ffazakerley	Ed flit ^r croft	Jeffrey Clerkson	Ed Hermor
P Parr	James Collier	Jo Jones	
Tho Rainford	Tho Houghton	Cha Jones	
	H Ambros	R Roper	
		Paul Thuvill	
		R Woodes	
		Jo Ormishaw	

XXIV.—LORD DERBY *declares for* SIR WILLIAM BUCKNELL.

[A Copie of My Lord of darbye's lre to Towne of
Liurpoole on behalfe of Sir William Bucknell]

Gentlemen

Because I ought to Seeke y^e accomplishment of his Ma. Seruise & y^e the good of your Towne I must make y^e this adresse Concerninge y^e Ensuinge Ellection for a Burgesse to Succeed my dear deceased Bro : theise two last post I am assured y^e Duke of Monmouth hath Comanded Mr Rosse to desist & in his roome by his Ma. ord^r (is now for S^r William Bucknell) I must bee for y^e same person both by duty & inclinacion, in y^e place of Mr Rosse, & theifore I doe recomend S^r William Bucknell to y^e as a p. son very fitt to serue y^e Corporation both by his interest at Court and his owne Abilitys, & soe I bid y^e very heartily farewell.

Y^r lou freind

Knowsley 16 No 1670

DERBY.

XXV.—MR. OTWAY *explains why the Writ was issued so soon.*

[A lre from Mr Otwaye]*

For the much honoured
S^r Gilbert Ireland a
Member of Parliam^t
at his house neare
Leuerpoole in
Lancashire

(Honoured S^r)

I am sorry if any mistakes rest with you vpon the account of my moving for the writ for Leuerpoole, which I shall truly state to you.—that finding the house (2 or 3 dayes after Mr Stanley's death) in a vacancy of business and sitting neare the chayre I was acquainting Mr Speaker wth the death of Mr Stanley who presently vsed these words. More sad newes gent. you have lost anoth^r worthy Memb^r whoe serued for vs. Shall I issue out a new writt, w^{ch} you know must needs be ord^d of Course.—and really I was no furth^r concerned I have since writt a l^r to the Mayo^r by direction of the chancello^r wherein was one from him—

* There is written on the back in another hand.—“Severall Letters chiefly relating to the Election of a Member of Parliamt. for Liverpoole. 1670.” This appears to have been on the outside of the bunch.

selfe. and haueing giuen you this true narrative I hope you will beleue me to be

Yo^r faithfully deuoted

Seru^t

Nou 17th

JO OTWAY.

1670

Coll Kirkby has p.mised to write to you by this post.

XXVI.—*Mr. WHARTON withdraws his claims. Letter from his father.*

[A lre from Esqre Wharton]

For S^r Gilb^t Ireland a Member
in parlm^t at Hale

pr

Warrington
Lancasheire

ffranks

London 19 9 ber 1670.

S^r

I returne you my hearty thanks in behalfe of my selfe & son for y^r paines & care & though it did not prove successefull yet the obligacon is as much to vs.

I hope youle bee tender in y^e elecon. Mr Rosse here has noe good reputacon w^t hee may have in a forraigne County where has never been heard of I know not but I thought it my Duty & interest as an Englishman & so deeply concerned in life & estat to pitch vpon safe Members in the great counsell of England to acquaint you wth it to preserve both. If you haue any thing here wherein I may serve you pray Command

S^r yo^r reall freind kinsman & servant

HUM WHARTON.

XXVII.—*Mr. DOBSON again presses his own cause.*

[A lre from Mr Dopson of Grayss Inn London]

For the Worthily Hono^{red}

S^r Gilbert Ireland k^t
att his house Bewsey
of Hale

humbly p. sent

S^r

I had acquainted yo^r selfe before any one of the death of Mr Stanley yo^r late Brother Burgesse had I not at that time, both by Letters and discourses here been informed that you were on your Journey to London. However I writt to Mr Mather to acquaint you with itt in case you were then still at home. As also that my Lord Gerard (who hath a true hono^r for you) would by his Letter have recommended to yo^r selfe ye Recommendation of mee to the Corporacon of Liverpooles to have supplied the vacancy, I being Resiant here, & soe might both easily & readily serve them vpon all occasions, but truely I after hearing the Towne had fixt vpon Mr Entwisle I resolved not to stirr further. But now being assured by him here of his declining it, and that S^r George Lane Mr Ashurst & S^r William Buckenall are the only p^{re}snt Competito^{rs} I thinke it may bee in yo^r power to improve my Interest, and such an Addition to the votes I am already certayne of, that I may Carry itt against all the three, for they doe soe divide the other votes, that not any one of them can have very many. This I make bold humbly to offer to you, Resting confident that you believe that I am and alwayes will bee

Yo^r very faithfull & obedient Serv^t

Grays Inn 19^o

EDWARD DOBSON.

Novemb 1670

I begg you will please to impart yo^r thoughts, & the Inclinacon of the Town, to Mr Mather who waytes on you with this.

XXVIII.—*Parliamentary Proceedings and General News.*

[A lre from Mr Arthur Borron]

For S^r Gilbert IrelandKn^t att Bewsey

or hale neare

Warrington in

Lancashire

Honord S^r

The debate about the new foundacons was carryed in the negative, 86 being for laying an imposition vpon them and 37 ag^t it. Yesterday it was moved by a R^t hono^{ble} burges that serves for o^r County, that an imposicon might bee layd upon those that weare perriwigs, there was not above 80 or 90 memb^{rs} in the house att the making of the mocon, but in less than halfe an howers tyme it was soe noysed about Westm^r hall, that above 200 members were gott together, The second man that spoke did not oppose the mocon, but desired that the imposicon might extend as well to Woemen that did weare others haire, as to men; A third said that it was very great reason,—since they had begunne wth mens comodety that they should fall into woemens. In shorte, there was a very great scene of mirth, such as hath not bene knowne of many yeares in that place, and att last ended with a great deal of lafter wth out any voate in the case, notwithstanding that there were many merry p.posalls w^{ch} were pty civill & pty bawdy.

Yesterday S^r Langgham sett out for Liverpoole wth Coach and 6 horses, resolved to spend 500 before his retourne, You may doe well to hint it to the Major that it may availle much for the benefit of the towne to putt of their elecon for some tyme, for I doubt not but hee & the presbiter will both of them prove very gen^{ous} in their treates before the elecon. If you ord^r it aright (as I know you have more discrecon to doe it than I can by any ways thinke of) I am confid^t you may whilest those 2 are contending about it, carry it for a 3^d p.son. And let him bee who hee will, their divided interests may tend to yo^r advantage. I know not how you may have bene sollicitid, though I thinke there hath bene noe endeavors wanting to p.cure lres from Courtiers on other p.sons behalfe; And soe as you sett upp any p.son ag^t the brewer & presbyter I p.sume it may bee acceptable. And if you thinke they may not bee takinge, I humbly submitt it to yo^r iudgment whether it may not be convenient to choose another S^r eggerson. & in this very iuncture of time to nominate Bickstaith who I am sure amongst the seamen & marriners will give soe great an interest, that those that intended to voate either for Bucknell or Ashurst, will decline both and adhere to him. S^r I begg yo^r p. don for this freedom of discoringe my thoughts to you, for soe as Bucknell & Ashurst have it not, I am indifferent who carries it though I could wish some of our own country might be pitcht upon. I intend to sett towards Lancash. on friday seavenight And till I see you as ev^r after, you may be assured that I am

Yo^r faithfull serv^tW. Staple Inne
24th No 70

[ARTHUR BORRON.]

XXIX.—SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH writes from *Crozleth*.

[A lre from Sir Roger Bradshaigh.]

For

the hon^{ble} S^r Gilbert IrelandKn^t at halle

theis

honord S^r

had I knowne y^r inclinations to stay longer among those infidell Leirpool-tonians, and had not my preobligations to wayte vpon my Lord Molineux tempted mee, I had not soe easily bene Rob^d of y^r Society the other day, but the remembrance of you heare by my Lord; and with so much freedom hath bene a greatesatisfaction for the omision of that hapines I afterwards wisht I had retained in enioy.

ing y^r Company Longer; the enclosed came yesternight late, I wish one of them had been in y^r hand when you had the knattering humor in y^r mouth with the good Earle—but what vse to make of them now I will not presume to prompt to you, but with all submission my broo: Shakerley and I refer them to y^r owne discretion (with this reserve) that if you Conceave any life may be gained by them, that our endeavours may bee againe conioyud, w^{ch} with the tender of S^r Jeffs and my faythfull seruise to y^r selfe & good Lady I conclude as I am.

Y^r affectionate freind

and servant

Croxtoth Nouember
28th 1670

ROGER BRADSHAIGH.

S^r Jeffrey is this day for Warington and will stay there till Wednesday, and expect y^r Comaunds. I shall goe home this day, and wayte wth the same duty.

XXX.—SIR GILBERT IRELAND is annoyed that his interest for SIR GEORGE LAKE has been so ineffectual.

[A Copie of a lre to y^r May^r & Aldermen of Liu^rpoole]

Gentlemen

I pray goe imediately with this Letter to the Mayor. It is from his Royall Highness the Duke of Yorke Lord High Admirall of England who well knoweing you to bee a Maritime Towne has Comanded this Letter to bee deliv^{ed} you, tho itt come late to my hands this afternoon I durst not but cause itt to bee Conveyed to you with all hast p^{oss}able; you may see my former earnestnes for y^e Gent. moved to y^a has not beene without an vnd^{er}standing of his Highnesses pleasure therein. And tho my success for that has been very Bad yet I pray Gent. make me not wholly an insignificant fellow wth you in being made a perpetuall Slave to y^e Insolant Impossibilities of y^r Burches, and alsoe very Rediculous to all persons els y^t know me (who not wth standing my former expences of so much tyme and moneys) shall now behold mee stand affronted by y^r towne, both in my first and second p^{os}itions to you on this election. I thinke it may not bee amiss that Mr May^r acquaint my Lord of Darby wth the Inclosed att their meeting w^{ch} by my present weaknes I donbt I shall not bee able to attend. In the mean tyme I rest

Your loning freind

and servant

Hale ye 28th
of No^r 1670

G. I.

XXXI.—Acknowledgment of the Receipt of the foregoing Letter.

[A note from y^e May^r of Lin^rpoole.]

To S^r Gilbert
Ireland Kn^t

S^r

Received yo^{rs} of this day, and shall communicate it tomorrow to the Earle of Derby according to the instance in yo^r le^r

S^r

Yo^r Seru^t obliged

THO JOHNSON.

Liu^rpoole 28th No

70

XXXII.—COLONEL KIRKBY *explains* LORD DERBY's *Letter*, (No. xxiv.)[Col^l Kirkbies lre London.]

To

My honord frind S^r

Gilbert Ireland att

his Hutt These

Lancashire

p^r Warrington paquett

Franke

RICH KIRKBY.

Honor^d S^r

I hope you have received mine in answere to yours. By the next you shall have the heads uppon w^{ch} the house have ordered two bills to be brought In for his Ma^{ties} supply, for now I have not time. I am well Informed My Lord of Derby hath published amongst others to that purpose a lett^{er} of my Lord keepers to the towne or cheife Magistrates of liverpooles for the election of S^r William Bucknall. I doe assure you hee did not Intend to Impose on any as to theire freedom In election. His lett^{er} when considered will demonstrate hee was commanded And that de did not recomend there wth his Judgment. You know you^r engagement. I wish you successe. My service to all ou^r frinds, I rest with all truth and sincere affection

S^ryou^r most faithfull servantLondon 90^{mbr} 29^o

RICH KIRKBY.

70

XXXIII.—MR. BOWYER *writes on behalf of* SIR GEORGE LANE, *with general News.*[A l^{re} from Boyer London]For the Hon^{ble} S^r Gilbert

Ireland Member of the

howse of Commons

at Haill or Bewey

These

P^r the postm^r of

Warrington to be

sent as above

Warrington Lancashire

franck JA HULIE (?)

Honor^d S^r

Yo^{rs} I have beene happy to receive the pr.sall whereof I offered to my Lord of Ormond who was wonderfully pleased therewth and declared thus. S^r Gilbert Ireland is a very honest gentlemen and let him know if ev^r it be in my power I will serve him, this I hade in Command to tell yo^a and do most hartly begg yo^a will please to do yo^r utmost for S^r George Lane who protests he nev^r in any thing disoblidged the Corporation of liverpooles and is troubled they should thincke so. and would be glad to know wherein for his vindication, but howev^r upon this score he is not begg^d. and now an opportunity is put into their hand to make him penitent of any form^r vnkindnes to them, and oblige him to their future service, w^{ch} in respect of his interest in Ireland, as being his Ma^{ties} principall Secretary of State in Ireland, and will ere long to my knowledge have futting againe there wth the Duke shortly. verbum sat sapienti.

S^r yo^r advice to the Towne may be wholesome and pray be not ashamed to give it them and thereby I hope yo^a will loose no Bayes, I hope my good lord Mollineux will be on yo^r side, therefore pray engage the Country to come in and ballance the Towne a resolution wth the Duke of Ormond sayd he hopes for.

The Parliamentary news I dare not offer to give yo^a because yo^a will have it from better hands. On Beere & Ale 15^d p^r barr^d is added vpon Strong & 6^d upon small. Tobacco from o^r plantacons 6^d per lb & upon forreagne plantacons 6^d per lb, vpon Salt

at home 8^d per gallon, and all Salt imported to vs from abroad 2^d per gallon. this day more is considered on and more will be, S^r I will not add more but pray to heare further as yoⁿ have promised, and now & for ev^r I am

S^r

yo^r most humble

Serv^t

THO BOWYER.

My wife p^rsents yo^r selfe and lady most humble service, and thanckes yoⁿ for yo^r remembrance.

S^r George Lane p^rsents yoⁿ humble service (though vnkowne) and is ambitious of yo^r brotherhood as Burgesse & will as occasions p^rsents give yoⁿ a thankfull Correspondence.

XXXIV.—MR. GRINSEWORTH announces the arrival of the Writ.

[A l^{re} from Roben Grinseworth of preston]

ffor Mr Thomas Mather or in
his absence to Mr Ro: Birley
att Warrington
These

[Re-addressed]

Theise
ffor y^e Right Worshipfull
S^r Gilbert Ireland kn^{ts}
at Hale

haste haste

Hale

Mr Mather,

According to Mr Sheriffes promise last to yⁿ he acquaintes yⁿ and Mr Birley that yesternight the writt for eleccion of a Burgesse for Liverpoole was sent hither and the person that comes wth it is vnkowne to him but very earnest to haue it dispatcht the County Seale and so very probably he will be as quicke wth the Sheriffe he desires yⁿ will let S^r Gilbert Ireland know wth what speed possible how hasty the bearer is to have the deputacon dispatcht: he gives yⁿ & his Lordshipp his reall services, and so does

y^r servant

Preston Dec^r 1st
1670

R. GREINSWORTH.

XXXV.—MR. ASHURST writes, in reference to his own cause.

[A l^{re} from Mr Henry Ashhurst]

For S^r Guilbert Ireland
att Haile These

Heighton the 2nd 10th
70

S^r

Yo^r affection and kindness to the interest of a stranger doth much greater my obligations to you: in particular I ought to mention the hearty welcome you were pleased to give mee and my friends at our last waiting upon you. Wee did then ingage to trouble you with a perticular acco^t of my affaires at Liuerpoole in short S^r not to trouble you with the particulars of my great antagonists carriage who bids defiance to all opposers I perceive my interest will die unless yo^r pressence and influence would keepe aliae the decaying resolutions of the towne who are fedd with Hopes of the highest nature from S^r W. B: I iust now read a letter from Lond: I am told Seuerall of y^e parliament talks loud of the irregular proceedings of S^r B: and are concerned then I could imagine. if you please to inclosse in a line or two a Copie of Col. Birch's letter, to ye towne, it

might bee of use to mee: however this matter proceed I shall alwaies please myself in the opportunity of showing my Self how much I am

S^r

Yo^r faithfull Humble Ser^{ty}

HEN ASHHURST JUR.

XXXVI.—SIR GEOFFREY SHAKERLEY writes on SIR GEORGE LANE's behalf.

[A l^{re} from Sir Jeffrey Shakerley and my master's answer thereunto.]

For S^r Gilbert Ireland Kn^t

These

at Hale

Chester 2^o Decem^{br} 1670

S^r

By p^russall of y^e inclosed to Matt Anderton you will find what is desired from us yet further on S^r George Lane's acc^o w^{ch} is to appeare at y^e day of election, my Cousen Cholmondley importunes mee alsoe soe to doe. w^{ch} I am willing to gratifie them in please to send word when y^e day will bee and acquaint such freinds as you thinke fitt of o^r resolucons. let mee know where I shall meet you that wee may goe togeather to y^e towne. if you thinke fitt pray send to Aspinwall & know what he hath done or can doe for S^r George, & when we shall appeare unless wee see some p^rabillitie on o^r side wee may then as wee see cause goe on or decline. My service to all freinds wth you, I rem

S^r

Yo^r most humble serv^t

GEFFERY SHAKERLEY.

please to let mee know as farr as you can how farr the Gladiators B & A have p^rceeded, p^r bearer.

XXXVII.—SIR GILBERT IRELAND's reply to the foregoing.

Hale Decem 3 (70)

S^r

Uppon ye receipt of yo^r yesternight I sent Tom Cooke this morning early to Leverpoole, to vnderstand how affaires stood theare as to ye elecon (having not benne theare my selfe since my journey thither to meet you) who brings me word that S^r Buck is att Liverpoole with his retinue very sumptuously & generously feasting & treating all y^e inhabitants y^t please to accept it, having for y^e purpose taken up severall Inns for their wellcom. his Royall hines letter has hitherto nothing att all prevayled wth any one of ye Townes people w^{ch} I know of in y^e behalfe of S^r George Lane, & I am affrayd all interest w^{ch} can be made uppon his account will fall much short to effect our whishes thearin, but if you resolve to be att ye elecon I will not faile to be wth you theare (God willing). the writ is not yett come to towne though it be past ye County seale and is now with ye sherriffe but sent for & hourly expected, ye day of elecon is not yet knowne but presumed it may be wednesday or thursday seavennight. Ashhursts party in y^e Towne hath for most part deserted him & gone over to Bucknel so that he is much discouraged & whether he will desist or Hould on I am uncertain, his relinquishment thearof having benne much preat uppon him by my Lord of Derby, & likewise as I heare by y^e Maior and other of formerly his most zealous frends by this you may geas w^t hopes wee may have of attaching any of his friends to us, but if y^t it be resolved to put S^r George's interest to y^e furthest uppon all adventures it weare good to revive it wth all celerity & let my Lord Mollineux know thereof I shod^d be glad to see you and S^r Roger before y^e elecon, y^t o^r resolves uppon one hand or y^e other may be fixt I pray let me heare from you what you are resold to doe I will send S^r George's letter and yours tomorrow to my Lord Mollineux and S^r Roger I pray

do you send for their conclusion w^t to doe, if youle send me your thoughts herein
I shall return you y^e day of eleecon wⁿ it is sett

Honest S^r Geff: I am

hardly y^e Servant

G. I.

I sent to Sammuell Aspinwall y^e watch maker to know w^t he had done, who though
for S^r George is not certayne y^t really he can doe any thing toth purpose

XXXVIII.—SIR GILBERT IRELAND writes to LORD MOLYNEUX.

[Copies of l^{res} to my Lord Mollynex Sir Roger Bradshaigh & Sir Jeffrey Shakerley.]

Hale y^e 5th Dec^r 1670

My Lord

The Inclosed I rec^d the other night from Sir Jeffrey Shakerley which I have
hereby Committed to yo^r Lordssps perusall, and shall waite what resolution
yoⁿ please to take up therein, Assureing you that if itt bee for y^e reviving of
Sir George Lane's Interest I shall not faile in pursuance of my first ingagem^t to
mannage the small Interest I possess according to the future determination of
your Lordssp. and the rest of his friends tho I am affrayd the interchanges
which that Affare has Sufferd Since itt has seemd to ly asleep so long & such
strong opposicoons still remaine Continuing against it will render the event very
difficult to obtain according to y^e wishes of us all & particularly of

"Cop l^{re} to my Lord
Mollyneux"

My Lord

Your Lord^{sh} humble

Servant

G. I.

XXXIX.—SIR GILBERT IRELAND writes to SIR GEOFFREY SHAKERLEY.

Sir

This day after 12 of y^e Clock proclamacon was made for the eleecon att
Liverpoole to bee had betwixt & 8 & eleaven vpon fryday next, whereby
y^e May^r has most perfidiously Complyd wth Bucknel's advantage, depriveinge
vs ye benefitt of amarkett day both for y^e proclamacon of y^e wryt likewise
y^e improvement thereof for our pty, if itt had but praesded y^e Election day. I
sent my Lord Mollynex those papers you sent me but his Lordssps opinioⁿ
is that the best endea^{vr} that can bee vsd vpon Sir George Lane's account will
prove very Inefectuall and espeeceally now being thus iniuriously surprysed by
this Contryu^d shortness of tyme. I beleeve yo^r iudgm^t will Concur therein.
I intend to bee att y^e eleecon myselfe, and should be very glad of yo^r Company
there. I am in noe hopes but Bucknall will carrie itt, however hee shall not
have y^e plate wth Running alone for I am resoluod to hobble vp some blynd
Coursior or other which may p.bably at least bring it hereafter to y^e decision
of y^e Judges who p'haps may Order a new Race for itt. pray send me what
newes you haue wth my Service to yo^r Lady I rest.

To Sir Jeffrey Shakerley
These

Dec^r y^e 5th 1670

XL.—SIR GILBERT IRELAND writes to SIR ROGER BRADSHAW.

Hale y^e 5th Dec^r 1670

S^r

I doubt not but ere this you have heard of y^e p.clamacon after 12 of

y^e Clocks this day made at Liuerpoole for y^e elecon to bee betwixt eight and eleaven vpon fryday next, by this shortnes of tyme I conclude y^e May^r is absolutely rycleyed Ou^r to Sir Birch's shore. I p^rseve many of y^e freemen who are not Comanded of by my Lord of Darby (and left vnentangled with those Goulden nets which for this weekes space have beene Spred all ouer Liuerpoole) doe remane much inclynd for Ashhurst who I heare will stand, which may p^r hapes hereafter avoyd y^e velidety of y^e Elecon in Case of question in y^e house, w^{ch} if Sir Bucknell should Carrie itt Singly by himself wth out any opposicon of a second prson would remane vnretreable. I should bee very gladd to meet you att y^e elecon where I intend God willing to bee & for my better attendance thereon I purpose to goe thither on thursday night. My Lord Mollynex (concluding Sir Geo Lane not possably to bee obtained) has remitted his votes to Mr Ashhurst if they please, And your concurrence likewise with what Intrest you have may vnsmooth y^e waye to Birches peromtory designe and give a new lyfe to another Elecon.

"To Sir Roger Bradshawe"

XLI.—SIR GEOFFREY SHAKERLEY writes on receipt of SIR GILBERT IRELAND's letter, (XXXVII.)

[A l^{re} from Jeffrey Shakerley.]
for S^r Gilbert Ireland
these at

Hale

Chester 5^o Decemb 1670

S^r

I rec^d yo^{rs} of y^e 3 inst wth y^e accompt of y^e p^rceedings of y^e great Dons about y^e elecon: not wth standing all w^{ch} I resolve according to S^r George Lane's last letter to appeare at y^e election. pray acquaint my L^d Mullineaux & all freinds about you that all y^e force wee are able of free Burgesses may be brought together. faile not to give mee notice when y^e day is

I have Spoake to Matt Anderton to write this day to S^r George, to acquaint him how y^e case stands & how improbable it is wee shall carry it for him as things now stand, and that it is yo^r & mine & y^e rest of his friends desires not to bring him on y^e Stage unless wee can foresee some hopes of a Victory. If S^r George uppon that letter acquiesce I shall give you Speedie notice, if otherwise wee must p^rceed as afores^d

I am in y^e interim

S^r

Yo^r humble Serv^t

GEFFERY SHAKERLEY.

direct yo^{rs} to mee to bee left
wth Matt Andⁿton who will
take care to send to mee
wherever I am.

Matt Anderton p^rsents his very
humble service to you.

XLII.—The MAYOR of LIVERPOOL announces the arrival of the Writ.

[A l^{re} from y^e May^r of liu^rpoole]

To
The Hon^{ble}
S^r Gilbert Ireland
Kn^t

at Hale

Hon^{ble} S^r

The writ came to us about 6 a clock on Saturday last And it being Returnable Indilate wee advised wth Mr Winstandley who had had the Exp^rience of 4 or 5 Elec^tions, And he tould us that thursday following was a Convenient tyme for notice, And

there vpon we made proclamacion on Munday last, That o^r Election of a Burgease in the Roome of Mr Stanley should be on fryday next, where of thought ourselves oblidge to give you Notice Especially being our other Burgesse in Parliamt, And hope you will be pleased to be heare that day to see the same Election duely p^rformed, On behalfe of the rest, humbly subscribe

Liverpoole 6th December

70

In Sir Gilbert Ireland's hand

"received this betwixt
9 & 10 Decem 7"

S^r

Yo^r humble Seruant

THOMAS JOHNSON.

XLIII.—SIR ROGER BRADSHAW *replies on receipt of SIR GILBERT IRELAND'S letter, (XL.)*

[A l^{re} from Sir R: Bradshaigh.]

For
the hono^{ble} S^r Gilbert Ireland
Kn^t

These

S^r

I receaued yours but late yesternight, and was aboute to dispatch a speciall messenger in return to yours, when my brother Heber cominge immediately from Knowsley tould mee that the maior of Leirpoole had signified to my Lord Derby that Mr Ashurst would desist if his Lordsp would onst more make it his request, soe thought this would come tyme enough (however) to tell you that my hands weare long since bound vp from beinge against Bucknell, and at y^r owne request in the Compass Window in Ruth's dining room I promised not to apeare for him (especially in person) so I haue sett my smale interest at libertie to bee for whom they pleased, (beinge wee could not obtaine it for S^r George Lane) soe begging your pardon that I cannot comply wth your desyres (though desyrous enough to meet you any wheare,) wth my seruise presented I rest

Your affectionate freind
to serue you

haigh December 6th /1670/

ROGER BRADSHAIGH.

my Lady Bradshaigh presents her seruice to your Lady and her ould Seruant
Col^l Ireland.

XLIV.—MR. ASHURST *despairs of Success.*

[A l^{re} from Mr Henry Ashhurst.]

For S^r Guibart
Ireland

Humbly these.

Ashhurst the 7 of 10ber

70

S^r

Since my last w^{ch} I know not y^t it found the way to yo^r hands I was last night surprized with y^e newes of Mr Major's proclaiming the writt one Munday and that the Election should bee one friday w^{ch} was so much conterary to his promiss to mee that I shuld haue 10 dayes notice when I haue but two. y^t I could not but read itt wth this apprehension y^t hee and the rest of the towne had deserted mee. and then to desire you or any other Gent. to apeare for mee would be a fruitless trouble. this morning my Lord of Derby writs to mee to desist, and saith my frends tel him I would, hee desires mee to confirme itt, I writ him a ciuill letter but did not tel him I would proceed: all that now remaines is the unfained testimonies of my most

affectionat acknowledgments for yo^r perticular respect to a person so unworthy of
yo^r fauor and to beg leue to subscribe my self

S^r yo^r most affectionat

and greetly obliged

Ser^{ts}

HEN ASHHURST JUN^r.

XLV.—SIR GILBERT IRELAND *complains to the Mayor of short Notice.*

[A Copie of a l^r to Mr May^r of li^pool.]

Hale Decem: 7th (70)

Mr Maior

I give you thanks that I have this day received knowledg from you of
y^r proclamacon uppon Munday last for yo^r eleccon uppon fryday next. I esteeme it
much you please to acquaint me thearewith 2 dayes after the proclamacon when theare
is but 3 betwixt it and y^e eleccon. But I pray good Mr Maior give me leave to tell,
y^t according to y^r promise I should have heard betwixt y^e receipt of y^e writt, & yo^r pro-
claiming of it: Had I Stood candidate for a Burgesship amongst you I might perchance
have benn partaker of more and quicker advices of yo^r proceed^s; yet however I have
benne waved as to any thing of counsell in this affair, yet I hope you will not be offended
if I appeare to assert my iust priviledges of a freeman in yo^r Corporacon as allso y^e like
liberty of a Comoner of England, to w^{ch} purpose I shall observe y^e contrived time to
waite uppon, & so I rest.

Your lo fre^d

G. I.

XLVI.—SIR GEOFFREY SHAKERLEY *writes to say he cannot be present at the
Election.*

[A l^r from Sir Jeffrey Shakerley.]

ffor his much honored

S^r Gilbert Ireland

at his house

Hale

These

wth speede

Deare S^r

This Morning I rec^d yo^{rs} and had appoynted to dispatch buisness of the
Baron of Kinderton's this day w^{ch} will not be dispenced wth And therefore cannot
(as I much desired) wayte vpon you at the Election, by reason thereof, the
vnhandsome dealing of y^r Mayors (w^{ch} I alwayes feared) surp^sing us, pray continue
yo^r resolucon, of Acting what you may legally vpon S^r Geo Lane's accompt and
please to p^rsent my most humble service to all my freinds, there being nothing
y^t more troubles me at p^rsent then y^t I cannot accompany y^u in this greate con-
cerne more then to wish & pray for yo^r good successe, & by God Assistance I intend
to take a time to give you 3 or 4 nights trouble. I rest

Yo^r most affectionate

humble servant

GEFFERY SHAKERLY.

Hulme, this
thursday morning
9 of y^e Clock.

pray acquaint
Mat Anderton the
reason of my not
coming to Liverpoole.

XLVII.—*Draft of a Notice to the Freemen to attend and Vote.*

[Totice (Notice ?) to all freemen to appeare at y^e Election at Li^ppoole.]

This is to give notice y^t y^e Elecon of a Burgess for parliament is to be att Liverpoole uppon fryday next by 9 of y^e Clock forenoone, being y^e ninth day of this month wheare all y^e freemen of y^e Sayd Corporacon are desired to give their presence for y^e good of their Countrie if they please.

Such as come are desired to repaire unto y^e House of Margery fornebys widow Watergate Street, or att Elizabeth Rydings Widdow in Dale Street.

XLVIII.—*Enclosure of Notice to Members of Parliament.*

[All absent members of Parliam^t to be doble Assessed in ye Subsidie Bill.]

These
To S^r Gilbert Ireland
Knight a Member
of Parliam^t

Haile p^rsent

S^r In obedience to the Order of the house of Comons the inclosed is communicated vnto yo^a by

Yo^r humble S^rvant

Preston 26^o December
1670

JO KELLETT.

XLIX.—*The Notice enclosed in XLVIII.*

" Martis 20 die Decembris 1670

" Resolved &c

" That the House be called over on the 9th day of January next, and that every member whoe shall the[n] make default of attendance whose excuse shall not be allowed by the House shall be doubly assessed in the Bill of Subsidies.

" Ordered

" That notice of this vote be sent by the Clerke of this House to the Sheriffes of the severall Counties of England and Wales to be by them communicated to such members of parliament in each County as are concerned.

WILL GOLDESBROUGH

Cler. Dom. Com."

" Received this order
y^e 30th of January
G. Ireland"

" Wittness
Tho Martin, the bearer"

L.—*The MAYOR and others to SIR GILBERT IRELAND on the Subject of Light-houses.*

[A l^{re} from M^r Johnson May^r of lin^ppoole.]

To the Hon^{ble} S^r
Gilbert Ireland a
Member in Parliam^t

S^r

Yesterday wee received a copie of the Ord^r inclosed, wherein yo^a will understand what day the Committee for Grievances will meet to Consider of Reading^s Patten^t for Light houses. Therefore wee make it our humble request to yo^a That on behalfe of this Burrough yo^a will be pleased to appeare in Parliam^t at or before

Wm Smith

Frank Smith

This

Alexand. Rigby

Elect

liam

upon

Ampton

Gulme

clock

day

Wm Smith

Ridgely

summer

Con

Johnson

profr

Humwinton

Quint

2012

John Birch

Cueh

111

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TILDEN FOUNDATION

that tyme. In regard those light houses will be no benefit to our Mariners, but a hurt, & Expose them to more danger if trust to them and also be a very great & vnnecessary burden & charge to them. Wee are S^r

Liverpooles 5th Jan

70

Yo^r most humble Servants

THO JOHNSON

THO ANDOE

HENRY CORKEY

JOHN STURZAKER

THOMAS BICK*STETH.

LI.—*The order of Parliament, enclosed by the MAYOR and others, (L.)*

[Copie of an Ord^r of parliam^t Concerning M^r Reading.]

Lune 19^o die Decembris 1670

Ordered

That the Committee of Grievances doe sitt vpon Wednesday moneth next, and doe examine the matter of Grievance formerly Complayned of against Mr Reading and others by peticon referred to the said Committee, And that Mr Readinge doe cause notice to be sent to the Parties concerned.

This is A true Coppy
of y^e oridginall order.

WILLIAM GOLDSBOROUGH

Cler. Dom. Com.

LII.—*MR. R. LEGH, of Lyme, to SIR GILBERT IRELAND, on general subjects.*

[A letter from Mr Leegh of Lyme to my Mast^r]

To his ever honord S^r Gilbert
Ireland

att his Bewsey

Pres^t These

Lime Dec 28^h
1670

S^r

By the last post from London I rec'd severall letters that doe acquaint me, The Earle Rivers, the Lrd Gerard, & S^r Foulk Lucy, (being all vndertakers) haue brought in a Bill into the house to make Weeuor navigable, I doe not heare itt goes further than soe, & Tom Cholmondeley is a stranger to itt; & I doe assure you soe am I too, being resolu'd to keepe my engagement to you; & therefore I thought good to give you this account, not knowing how farr that Act does reach, nor whether it concerne you. The Parliam^t is very strict with their absent members, as (I know) you heare, yett (as Harry Martin was us'd to say) I hope to sitt itt out this Sessions att Lime. Lett me know yo^r resolves I pray, though I haue a late Summons from my father & will haue another before I stirr; They are soe angry aboue, their company is not worth soe long a Journey. Dear S^r I rejoyce to hear of y^r good health, my humble service to y^r good Lady & selfe is the rest from y^r most faithfull seruant

R LEGH.

LIII.—*MAT ANDERTON encloses a letter of thanks from SIR GEORGE LANE.*

[A l^r from Mat Anderton, of Chester.]

To S^r Gilbert Ireland Kn^t these
humbly p^sent at
Hale

Chester 23 Decemb. 70

Honrd S^r

I am commanded by S^r George Lane to transmit y^e inclosed to you wth all

to request yo, advice whether any dispute should be made against y^e election as illegall & would gladlie know whether you intend to bee at Lond^a soone after Christmas or not

S^r W^m has not sat in y^e howse yet, & they have adjourned till y^e 29th of this moneth. Yo^r intimacon in sd p^ticular p^r bearer shall bee sent to S^r George by

S^r

Yo^r most humble &
oblidged Serv^t

please p^r first convenience
to send y^e inclosed to Mr Norris

MA ANDERTON.

LIV.—SIR GEORGE LANE's letter of thanks, enclosed in the last.

[A l^r from Sir G leane to my mast^r.]

For my honour^d friend
S^r Gilbert Ireland.

S^r

Mr Anderton hath from time to time given mee an Account how frankly & generously you have been pleased to appeare for mee, to bee elected a Burgesse for Liverpoole, for which though I cannot at present returne you any thing but my humble & hearty thanks, yet I will assure you my Endeavo^r shall never be wanting in what it may lye in my power to serve you as

S^r

Your oblidged & most
humble Servant

Whitehall
20 Dec^r 1670

G. LANE.

The following Acrostic, refers to Thomas Berri, a native of Bootle, who was baptised in the parish Church of Walton-on-the-Hill. It is referred to at page 19. Like the Brass of Abbott Mare, (p. 20,) it was engraved several years before his death, for it is alluded to in his last Will and Testament, executed 8th August, 1601, as then in the possession of his cousin Robert Berrie, of Liverpool. To see the Acrostic, the initial letters require to be read upwards.

1586

I n God the lord put all your trust
R epent your former wicked waies
E lizabeths our queen moste juste
B lease her oh Lord in all her daies
S o Lord increase good counsellors
A nd preachers of his holy worde
M islike of all Papistes desires
O Lord out them of with thy sword
H ow small the gift so e'er shall be
T hank Gode for him who gave it thee

4 B 2: XII pence loves to XII pore folkes
Done everie sabbath day for ever

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